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CSSR-GDR Proposal on CW Talks Submitted to FRG

LD192011 Prague CTK in English
1932 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Bonn April 19 (CTK correspondent)—A proposal of the Czechoslovak and GDR Governments for holding talks on the liquidation of chemical weapons from the territory of Czechoslovakia, the GDR and the FRG, or on the preservation of these territories free of chemical arms, was submitted here Tuesday.

The proposal was handed over by Czechoslovak Ambassador to West Germany Dusan Spacil and head of the GDR Permanent Mission to Bonn Ewald Moldt to FRG Government envoy for disarmament and arms control Josef Holik.

The Czechoslovak and GDR ambassadors stressed that the negotiations should include parts of an agreement on a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, mainly the passages concerning control, which have been adopted already during the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. Czechoslovakia and the GDR regard their proposal as a concrete offer to overcome difficulties in elaborating a general convention of a ban on chemical weapons.

CSCE Delegates View Rights, Arms, Minorities

U.S., UK Speeches Criticized

AU192058 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Apr 88 pp 1, 5

[Report by Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Jozef Janto from Vienna: "The Sixth Round of the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting Has Begun; Obstructions by Western Delegations"]

[Text] The sixth round of the CSCE follow-up meeting began in Vienna on Friday [15 April]. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and heads of seven delegations, including the Czechoslovak delegation, spoke on the opening day.

Petur Mladenov briefed the representatives of the 35 states participating in the Vienna follow-up meeting on the results of the recent session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states. He stressed that the most important result of the Sofia session is the willingness to facilitate through concrete actions the process of real disarmament, to prevent its arrest, and thus allow it to continue to develop and become irreversible.

Several heads of delegations received this appeal positively, especially the passage containing the proposal to begin separate talks on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including nuclear components for dual-purpose systems, on the subsequent elimination of these weapons, on the need to work out a convention this very year on banning chemical weapons and eliminating the stockpiles of them, on the establishment of nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe, and so forth. They also appreciated the fact that the Soviet Union has already withdrawn its missiles from CSSR and GDR territory, even prior to the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. They called for an early ratification of this treaty, especially by the U.S. Congress.

However, yesterday's speeches by some heads of Western delegations were not in the spirit of a creative search for possibilities of arriving at the elaboration of the Vienna follow-up meeting's final document in the course of this round. The speech by Warren Zimmermann, head of the American delegation, and, in particular, by D. Mellor, minister of state in the Ministry of Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of Great Britain, who took part in the opening of the sixth round yesterday, definitely did not contribute to the creation of a favorable atmosphere. D. Mellor grossly attacked the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and some other socialist states for the alleged failure to observe human rights. Regarding Czechoslovakia, he tried to depict the issue of religious freedoms in a one-sided and distorted manner.

In his speech Ambassador Frantisek Dolezal, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, reacted to these attacks, among other things. He stressed that although religious freedoms in the CSSR are guaranteed by the Constitution, of late we have witnessed efforts to organize opposition groups and incite them to activity designed to cause unrest in our society. The activity that took place in Bratislava on 25 March belongs in this category, its purpose being to negatively influence the atmosphere of the talks between the Czechoslovak state and the Vatican.

We are astonished, F. Dolezal continued, that in Britain—where human rights are being violated on such a mass scale and where they even shoot people on the street (for example, the shooting of three defenseless pedestrians in Gibraltar by the British police), and where the police brutally disperse advocates of peace protesting against the further, feverish arms buildup—there is such deep concern about what happened in Bratislava.

One positive thing that we can point out—and this, too, was stressed by Ambassador F. Dolezal—is the fact that the socialist states approach the Helsinki process comprehensively, that they sincerely strive for the Vienna meeting to be concluded to the satisfaction of all participating countries, in the interest of all nations trying to build a "European home." This is also attested to by the Czechoslovak initiative, aimed at establishing a zone of trust and cooperation and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the two military-political blocs, which received full support at the session of the committee of ministers in Sofia. At the Vienna meeting, too, we have noted positive interest in this initiative, which is being further worked out taking into consideration the interest of our partners.

Bulgarian Speaks on Disarmament

AU200710 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Apr 88 p 4

[Report on speech delivered by Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov at the CSCE conference in Vienna on 15 April]

[Text] Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov spoke at the conference of CSCE member states, which resumed in Vienna today.

He briefed the participants on the results of the Sofia session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee and their joint evaluation of the international situation, as well as on the program they adopted for real disarmament, reducing the level of military confrontation, and guaranteeing stability and security in Europe and throughout the world. Petur Mladenov declared: We are prepared to discuss each separate element of the program with all European states, the United States, and Canada, and to review new proposals and search together for a sensible and concrete mutually acceptable balance of interests.

The Soviet-American INF Treaty is an example of this and represents the specific implementation of new political thinking. It is necessary to accomplish the next step—namely to complete work on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons while strictly observing the ABM Treaty so that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States may place their signatures under this document at their forthcoming meeting in Moscow.

Pointing out the unacceptability of the so-called "compensation measures" for the nuclear weapons due to be destroyed, Petur Mladenov called attention to the measures of goodwill adopted by the socialist countries—such as the withdrawal of Soviet operational-tactical missiles prior to the coming into force of the Soviet-American treaty, the proposal on individual negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, as well as the proposal to prepare a convention on the banning of chemical weapons by the end of 1988.

The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs further pointed out that the task of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, which is the most important problem for our continent, is now emerging as an issue of primary importance. It is a good sign that the other European states share the same opinion on this issue. The main thing is that the negotiations should not remain at their starting point, nor should they repeat the sad experience of the past. The mandate should be coordinated and the talks started. In this connection it is proposed that each of the two military alliances should publish as soon as possible data on its forces in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, as well as its own data on the forces of the other side. In addition, data should be published according to region as follows: for Central Europe, and for the northern and southern parts of the continent. The Warsaw Pact member states are prepared to publish data on the separate countries, as well as on types of weapons, provided that NATO does the same.

In the context of regional initiatives Petur Mladenov briefed the participants in the Vienna forum on the positive assessment of the Belgrade meeting made by the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers. This meeting was cited as an example of political goodwill to develop cooperation, overcome prejudice, and search for the things that we have in common as confirmation of the possibility of working successfully on a regional level and as confirmation of the role played by small and medium-sized countries.

The speaker stated: The results of the Belgrade meeting were welcomed with particular satisfaction in Bulgaria. This is a first step along a new path that has been called upon to assist and consolidate the positive trends in the political atmosphere of this particular part of Europe.

The foreign minister also spoke about the work of the Vienna conference. He stated: It is our common assessment that this conference has begun to move out of the stalemate. At the same time there are a number of essential questions that have not yet been coordinated and could unjustifiably delay the conclusion of the conference. Difficulties of an objective nature also exist. Documents are being prepared in Vienna today in a new atmosphere, at a stage in which East-West relations are beginning to take shape under the auspices of a new political thinking. Both at this conference and outside of it this is taking place under the difficult conditions of overcoming prejudices and cliches inherited from the past.

Petur Mladenov declared that he had been entrusted to express once again the readiness of the states represented at the Sofia meeting of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee to contribute comprehensively to the drafting of a meaningful and balanced final document.

He dwelled on the tasks of the Vienna meeting: adoption of the 10 principles of the Final Act in their unity and entirety, resumption of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, preparation of qualitatively new measures that could be extended to the Mediterranean, and the beginning of negotiations on conventional disarmament. The subject of these negotiations, armed forces and conventional weapons, should not exclude the dual capable means. The existing lack of symmetry and the lack of balance on an all-European scale, as well as in individual regions should be eliminated on a mutual basis.

Petur Mladenov stressed that, in order to make these negotiations truly successful, it is particularly important to determine the zone they encompass, whose boundaries are directly dependent on all participating states

having equal rights and obligations and on the principle of equal security. It is of primary importance that the zone of negotiations should encompass the territory and the forces of all participating states, also those in the southern part of the continent.

In the economic sphere what we expect from the final document of the meeting is that it should substantially contribute to the reduction of the technological division of Europe, so that it may guarantee new opportunities for business relations, the speaker said. This document should reflect the recent positive trends and give the necessary political impetus to cooperation on a multilateral basis.

Dwelling in particular on the proposal for ecological measures within the framework of the all-European process following Vienna, to which our country has contributed as a co-author, Petur Mladenov said that the priority questions have already been outlined, and the means proposed for their solution have emerged. He added that opportunities exist for a specific, balanced mandate, based on compromise but at the same time meaningful, which could justify the holding of such a meeting. Petur Mladenov once more recalled Bulgaria's readiness to host to such an event.

As for cooperation in the humanitarian field, the Vienna meeting is called upon to mark the beginning of a process of change in approach, which could be described by saying: from confrontation to cooperation. This would only be to the advantage of a strict and consistent observance of the obligations assumed within the framework of the all-European process and to the benefit of their further development. As a matter of fact, mutual confidence among the member states and the general atmosphere on our continent depends to a great extent on whether there is a trend toward cooperation on these issues, or whether confrontation prevails.

Petur Mladenov finally informed the participants about the proposal to close the Vienna meeting at the level of foreign ministers. This would provide an opportunity for an exchange of opinions on further intensifying the all-European process. It would mark the beginning of negotiations at the forums related to confidence-building measures and to the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, gave a reception at the Imperial Hotel in Vienna today in honor of the delegations participating in the CSCE Vienna Conference. Opinions were exchanged on the further intensification of the all-European process and on other issues of common interest.

Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, returned from Vienna yesterday.

He was welcomed at Sofia Airport by Michael von Schenk, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Switzerland in Bulgaria, and by Thomas Baier, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Austrian Embassy.

Romania 'Scolded' on Minorities

AU191938 Paris AFP in English
1926 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Vienna, April 19 (AFP)—Hungary publicly scolded Romania in an East-West forum here Tuesday, implicitly charging its eastern neighbour with violating the rights of an estimated 1.8 million-strong Hungarian minority.

Andras Erdos, chief Hungarian delegate to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, cited as "positive examples" the treatment of Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

But in an unambiguous reference to Romania, which he did not name, Mr. Erdos criticised "measures and plans" which he said "deeply sadden us because they represent a flagrant departure from the letter and spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki," signed in 1975.

According to Bucharest figures, some 1.8 million ethnic Hungarians live in Romania. Hungary has recently made ever-sharpening gestures of protest at what it describes as Romania's measures to force their assimilation.

Mr. Erdos said the "razing of ancestral cemeteries, churches, historic monuments and holy places, the abolition of place names in minority languages and the concrete implications of the planned wiping out of some settlements ... would constitute—under whatever pretext—a violation of human rights and basic freedoms." [passage omitted]

Security Council Gets Nonaligned Draft on Israel
LD152009 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1815 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] United Nations, April 15 (TANJUG)—Six nonaligned countries members of the Security Council—Algeria, Argentina, Nepal, Senegal, Yugoslavia and Zambia—have submitted a draft resolution to the Council demanding that Israel, as an occupational force, scrupulously abide by the Geneva convention concerning the treatment of civilians at the time of war. The document also demands that Israel refrain from policies and practices violating the Geneva convention in any way.

It further demands that Israel revoke its decision to deport Palestinian civilians, and secure a safe return home to those who have already been deported.

The document condemns Israel's policy and practice by which it, as an occupational force, violates human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. It especially condemns Israel for killing and wounding helpless Palestinian civilians.

The proposed document says it is necessary to urgently find a comprehensive, just and permanent settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, whose integral part is the Palestinian problem, under the auspices of the United Nations.

The document also sets out that the UN secretary-general should regularly submit reports on the situation in the occupied territories.

Daily Comments on Malile's Visit to Greece

AU191106 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 19 Apr 88

["Visit Serving the Strengthening of Relations Between Albania and Greece—the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT Writes"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, April 19 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article by journalist Sokol Gjoka which says among others:

The visit of the Albanian delegation headed by the minister of the foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, to Greece marked another step in strengthening the relations and cooperation between Albania and Greece. The Albanian delegation was extended a warm and friendly reception, which expresses the respect and love of the Greek people for the Albanian one. Likewise, all the meetings of the Albanian foreign minister with the top political Greek personalities were pervaded by the sincere, friendly spirit of good understanding and the predisposition of the governments of our two countries was expressed to strengthen still more the cooperation between Greece and Albania.

The present friendly relations develop in the context of the ancient historic ties existing between our two ancient peoples. In their struggles for freedom and independence they have often clashed against common enemies. Comrade Ramiz Alia has said: "The same historic fates have approached and made friends our peoples, these two autochthonous and the most ancient peoples of the Balkans. The common struggles to safeguard freedom, independence, culture and their identity against the foreign invasions, the liberation struggle against Italian and German fascists have created strong friendly ties, that have withstood all the times and situations." The Greek minority in Albania is a factor of friendship between the Greek people and the Albanian one. Enjoying all the rights and freedom just as all the Albanian people, it serves as a bridge of friendship between Greece and Albania.

The ancient and new ties are being enriched more and more recently with the predisposition and good will of the two governments of our countries. During their talks, the foreign ministers pointed out that it is necessary that the relations and cooperation between Greece and Albania to be elevated on a higher level. They also spoke on the concrete possibilities to further promote the exchanges between our two countries regarding trade, in different spheres of economy, cultural ties, the scientific cooperation, transport, and other spheres where the interests between the two countries are common. To this end served also the agreement on the border trade between Albania and Greece signed in Ioannina.

The creation of such an atmosphere of cooperation and understanding is a contribution that our countries render to the strengthening of peace and cooperation in the Balkans. The signing of the bilateral agreements and the strengthening of ties in different fields of mutual interest materialize the readiness of our countries to apply concretely the ideas of cooperation and understanding in our peninsula which were also set forth at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries.

The successful visit of the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, is another step to the consolidation of ties between our peoples and countries. It will open fresh perspectives to the cooperation between Greece and Albania, will consolidate still more the friendly relations between our two peoples, thus serving as an example to the cooperation and good neighbourliness in the Balkans.

CSSR's Jakes Arrives, Welcomed by Zhivkov

AU200838 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Today Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived in Bulgaria on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. Our reporter Tsveti Gerov reports by direct relay from the Boyana Residence in Sofia:

[Begin Gerov recording] The official ceremony welcoming the first party leader of the CSSR is now drawing to an end. In front of the residence, where the national flags of the two countries have been raised, Comrade Todor Zhivkov met with Milos Jakes and gave him a cordial Bulgarian welcome. Milos Jakes received the report of the officer in charge of the guard of honor. The national anthems of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria were played, and Milos Jakes inspected the guards detachment, who presented arms.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov introduced to the Czechoslovak leader the officials attending the welcoming ceremony, members of the Politburo, and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee. Representatives from the CSSR Embassy to Bulgaria were also present.

The welcoming ceremony for the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee ended with a solemn march past by the guard detachment of honor.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Milos Jakes then made their way to the residence building, where they are shortly due to begin their meeting. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Restructuring, Cooperation Discussed

AU200956 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has arrived in Bulgaria on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. [passage omitted]

A short while ago our reporters who are covering the visit transmitted the following by telephone:

Immediately after the welcoming ceremony, the first party leaders of our two countries began their meeting. At the meeting they exchanged information on the restructuring under way in Bulgaria and the CSSR, which opens up new opportunities for further developing and expanding bilateral cooperation, for enriching this cooperation with new, more perfect forms, and for uniting efforts in the work-sharing production of various types of goods and machines.

Issues relating to the beneficial bilateral links in different fields, as well as problems of the present-day international situation, will also be the center of attention at the official Bulgarian-Czechoslovak talks that will begin after the personal meeting between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Milos Jakes.

POGLED Comment on Kuwaiti Aircraft Hijacking

AU191141 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue No 16 18 Apr 88 p 7

[Ivo Indzhev article: "Roots of Air Piracy Are on the Ground"]

[Text] The statistics on acts of piracy in the air are full of all sorts of "eccentricities" usually committed at the expense of innocent people's lives. There are exceptions, such as the case of the Alitalia aircraft incident which ended on 12 March 1972 with a forced landing in Munich instead of Milan. The aircraft was diverted at the request of an elderly Italian woman, who was protesting against the psychiatric treatment to which her sister had been subjected. One of her compatriots committed an even more wildly eccentric act of air piracy. Luciano Porchiri, a motor mechanic, decided to exert his parental rights over his 3-year old illegitimate daughter, born in Africa, by hijacking a Boeing-727 of the Spanish Iberia airline. The forced "excursion" of the Boeing aircraft lasted 2 days and ended on 16 March 1977 in Zurich, where the "jester" was rendered harmless after his hostages had visited Algiers, Abidjan, Sevilla, Torino, and Warsaw.

The list of odd incidents could be continued with numerous other cases of successful and unsuccessful hijackings committed under the threat of plastic toy guns. However, these are by no means typical incidents. Violence in the air is usually marked by real shooting, fires, explosions, and the shedding of innocent blood. This makes hijacking one of the most dangerous crimes in our supersonic century. It is not surprising that special forces have been set up in Great Britain, the FRG, France, and the United States to combat terrorism, especially since the wave of hijacking has particularly increased in the last 2 decades. During this period there have been no less than 60 armed attacks against civil aircraft in various parts of the globe.

There was a dramatic increase in the number of hijackings during the 1972-73 period and reached its climax in 1977, but about 10 years later it began to drop and reached its lowest point in 1986—when there were only two armed actions people in the air. The trend is declining, and the most likely reason for this is the mobilization of all means of struggle against hijacking on an international scale. A firm attitude to blackmail has proved to be the most effective weapon against hijacking. The inflexibility of governments toward the

demands of hijackers acts as a preventive remedy in the confrontation with potential criminals. Precisely this preventive policy has produced visible results in recent years.

Nevertheless, the complexity of the problem requires complex measures and resolute action, such as was shown by Soviet special units near Leningrad on 8 March 1988 (in connection with the action to disarm the criminals who had hijacked an Aeroflot aircraft, the Soviet press reported that this kind of special unit has existed in the Soviet Union for about 10 years).

Nevertheless, the most complicated question is the one related to politically motivated hijackings. There is a most recent example in this connection, the case of the Kuwaiti Boeing aircraft which was diverted on 5 April 1988 during a flight from Bangkok, and forced to land in the Iranian town of Mashhad, and later in Larnaka, and Algiers. No country whatsoever approves the political claims of the hijackers, even less their methods, which have cost the lives of innocent people and created a state of alarm in the airports of numerous countries for several days. The evaluation of such tragic events, of the various types of extremism, and all kinds of radicalism, however, requires us to recall a useful lesson: No country other than Israel is the initiator of air terrorism. This does not excuse anyone, but it is a fact that was experienced by hundreds of Syrians, Palestinians, Libyans, and other Arabs, who were passengers on Arab civil aircraft hijacked by Israeli fighters. We can therefore say that not only are the roots of air piracy to be found on the ground, but they are rather intricate—as intricate as the Middle East conflict itself, for example.

Atanasov Receives Afghan Minister Kobakiwal

AU191430 Sofia BTA in English
1415 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 19 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Ghulam Faruq Kobakiwal, Afghanistan's minister of agriculture and land reform, who attends the fifth session of the Bulgaro-Afghan Governmental Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

The Bulgarian head of government emphasised that this country commends highly the Geneva accords, which provide a legal basis for an end to the interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and secure further favourable prerequisites to consolidate the national reconciliation process.

The sides stressed that the results of the commission's current session will help the two countries activate their trade and economic relations.

Days of Norwegian Technology Marked

AU191629 Sofia BTA in English
1533 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 19 (BTA)—Days of Norwegian Technology were opened here today. Over the past few years the economic relations between Bulgaria and Norway have marked progress but there are still spheres in which contacts have not been established. Industrial and technological cooperation could also cover the transfer of technologies for the production of high-tech products. Modern forms of economic cooperation could also be introduced. The activization of the contacts between the organizers of this event—the Bulgarian Trade and Industry Chamber and the Norwegian Export Council will assist the increase of the counter trade between the two countries.

This is the second time Sofia plays host to such a Bulgaro-Norwegian initiative. In the course of three days at the Sheraton Hotel representatives of world famous trade and industrial companies and firms will deliver lectures which will acquaint the Bulgarian specialists with the modern technologies applied in different branches of the economy, with the control exercised over pollution, with the use of solar energy, etc.

'Severe Sanctions' for Retail Price Violations

AU191442 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Apr 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Severe Sanctions for the Violators"]

[Excerpts] In its 15 March issue, RABOTNICHESKO DELO informed its readers of certain cases of illegal increases in consumer goods prices and of the sanctions imposed for these violations. With the assistance of the Ministry of the Economy and Planning, the newspaper will in future continue to give publicity to illegal encroachments by unscrupulous goods producers and traders on the consumer's pocket.

In fulfillment of State Council Decree No 115 of 4 February 1988 on preventing illegal price increases, the relevant control organs of the Ministry of the Economy and Planning are expanding their activities. It is characteristic that their attention is being increasingly directed toward specific violations throughout the whole chain of price formation, registration, agreement, and application. The goods producers, traders, and enterprises consuming products with illegally increased prices bear equal responsibility for the deviations. As a result of the 45 inspections completed since the start of this year, economic sanctions to the value of 3 million leva have been imposed on production enterprises and trading organizations for confirmed violations of pricing policy. Reports have been drawn up against 73 officials. The materials of inspections that have revealed particularly gross violations have been submitted to the prosecutor's office.

However, to suppress the appetite of certain labor collectives or officials for obtaining benefits through manipulating prices, we need not only the efforts of the specialized control organs, but also the active civic support of all of us who daily visit the stores. And let us not deceive ourselves into thinking that we have succeeded in tricking others by increasing the prices of our own production, for every citizen, if he is a producer of one commodity, is also a consumer of a thousand and one others. The standard and quality of the life of each and everyone of us depends on our high morality and professional ethics.

In the information supplied to us by the Ministry of the Economy and Planning, we give publicity today to certain sanctions imposed as a result of reports from citizens. We believe that the time is not far off when we will also be able to report on violations prevented as a result of the active intervention of the labor collectives themselves at the places where prices are formed. [passage omitted]

The "Everyday Fabric" and "Comprehensive Services" Economic Enterprises in Plovdiv have produced a nonstandard strap for attaching exhaust pipes to "Zastava" and "VAZ" cars, which they sold to the trading organizations at prices from 1.20 to 3 leva, despite the fact that the strap does not meet the quality requirements for a product priced at 1.20 leva. The "TsUM" trading organization in Sofia, and the "Mototekhnika" Economic Trust and "Petrol" Economic Enterprise in Plovdiv, irresponsibly agreed to these prices, and even permitted the strap to be marked with two prices—1.20 leva on one side and 3 leva on the other. Due to this gross violation, the producer enterprises have been ordered to pay into the state budget the whole amount obtained from the sales at illegal prices, totaling 15,350 leva. The entire income of the trading organizations from the strap sales has been confiscated because they displayed a low level of control and agreed on illegal prices. The leaderships of the production and trading enterprises have been instructed to bring the officials responsible to account.

To ensure higher income, in 1987 and 1988 the "Dairy Industry" Economic Enterprise sold fresh sheep's milk to public catering establishments at its natural fat content, but invoiced the milk as sour milk, and obtained 8,762 leva from the difference in prices. Making use of this, the "RPK" trading organizations in Razlog and Kresna have been selling the same milk to the population at higher prices, obtaining a higher trading markup therefrom totaling 1,512 leva. These gross price violations have caused losses of 10,283 leva to the citizens. Economic sanctions have been imposed to the entire value of the sales income received by the "Dairy Industry" Economic Enterprise in Blagoevgrad and the trading markup received by the trading organizations—54,629 and 4,400 leva respectively. Reports have been drawn up against the guilty officials and the materials of the investigation have been sent to the prosecutor's office in Blagoevgrad for criminal prosecutions to be prepared. [passage omitted]

The results of the control work on prices completed following the ratification of the Code on Economic Activity and the Order on Prices throw clear light on the possible violations. A number of problems also exist connected with the change in the organization, approach, and methodology of this work. However, such a change is required by the new principles and regulations for pricing, and reliable guarantees are needed to protect the interests of the millions of working people. The citizens are entitled to want to use their legally acquired money to buy the goods they need at properly justified and legally established prices. However, for this to be achieved, better coordinated vigorous action on the part of the state organs, public organizations, and the population is clearly needed.

Sofia Exhibition Shows Progress in Computers

AU191347 Sofia BTA in English
1236 GMT 19 Apr 88

["News From the World of Personal Computers"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 19 (BTA)—Recently, jointly with the Ensch Company of Luxembourg, the small Bulgarian enterprise "Infosport" made a breakthrough in the field of personal computers. At the specialized fair "Cebit" in Hannover, held in March this year, their personal computer of the IBM-AT type showed the highest working speed (microprocessor frequency) of 27.7 mHz. They used an Intel 80386 microprocessor.

The personal computer of "Infosport" (an enterprise with the Bulgarian Union of Physical Culture and Sport) was shown here today at the National Exhibition of Personal Computers "Perscomp Expo'88".

The exhibition was organized the leading Bulgarian institute in this field—the Institute of Technical Cybernetics and Robotics with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, where the first Bulgarian personal computer "IMCO-1" was made years ago. Among the exhibitors are the "Microprocessor Systems" Economic Corporation, the microprocessor equipment plant in Pravets (central Bulgaria), several higher educational establishments and mathematics secondary schools, and representatives of the chain of software houses in this country. Companies from Austria, Great Britain, and the FRG are also taking part in the exhibition.

Last year in Bulgaria there were produced 24,863 personal and professional computers. Bulgaria is leading in a number of projects on these problems of the Comprehensive Programme for the Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member States.

Strougal Announces Resignation of Government
LD201528 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, announced to President Gustav Husak today that, on the basis of the adoption of the constitutional law on changes in the system of the federal central organs headed by members of the federal government, in the sense of Article 71, paragraph 1 of Constitutional Law No 143/68 of the collection of laws on the Czechoslovak Federation, the Government of the Czechoslovak SR is resigning.

The president accepted the resignation of the government and expressed thanks for the work it has accomplished. At the same time, according to Article 72 of the same constitutional law, it entrusted the government to carry out its functions temporarily until a new government is nominated.

Federal Assembly Approves Reorganization
LD191206 Prague CTK in English 1100 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today discussed and approved a constitutional bill on changes in the structure of federal bodies headed by members of the Czechoslovak Government.

The draft, presented by First Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek, provides for the following changes:

The former Ministries of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering, General Engineering and Electrical Engineering will be merged into a Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electrical Engineering, the former Ministries of Transport and of Communications will be merged into a Ministry of Transport and Communications; the former number of two government members in the Czechoslovak State Planning Commission will be reduced to one who will run this central body and represent it in the government.

Rudolf Rohlicek told the session that in the period of restructuring of the Czechoslovak national economy and speeding up of innovation processes, the changes seek such organization of managing bodies in branches under which each body would be responsible for the implementation of the state economic policy in one complete national economic complex. In this sense, a new national economic engineering complex, including electrical engineering, is being formed next to the already existing fuel-and-power and agriculture-and-food complexes. The setting up of one Ministry of Transport and Communications is also based on the fact that the two branches have many features and tasks in common.

Other reasons which have led to the changes include efforts to eliminate the barriers to development which sometimes arose between the branches, the deputy premier said. The adopted measures should also help reduce office work in the management of the mentioned branches and save manpower.

Rudolf Rohlicek noted that another aim of the legislation reorganizing Czechoslovak federal bodies is to contribute to the creation of conditions for the introduction of a new economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia, which provides for major changes in the definition of the ministries' activities. They should focus in the future primarily on drafting the five-year state plan, mapping out the strategy of development of the national economic complexes, and on the implementation of policies in the economic and social spheres, science and technology, investments, external relations and personnel, Rudolf Rohlicek stated.

Today's 8th joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly—the House of the People and the House of Nations—is being attended by Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak and Premier Lubomir Strougal.

Jakes Presents CPCZ Presidium Report
AU130501 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Apr 88 pp 3,4,5

["Report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the Party's Work in the Conditions of Restructuring the Economic Mechanism and Developing Socialist Democracy," delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 8 April]

[Text] Comrades,

Today's session of the CPCZ Central Committee meets shortly after the 40th anniversary of Victorious February when we pondered once again the importance of its legacy for the current struggle for the revolutionary restructuring of the socialist society. Despite all the complications, obstacles, and difficulties that had to be overcome, the Czechoslovak people have attained historic successes in the 4 decades that have elapsed since that watershed in our modern history.

The amassed experiences of the great revolutionary struggles for the rights and interests of the working people conclusively demonstrate that the party has always discharged its role of a vanguard successfully when it was firmly guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and applied them creatively, when it was faithful to proletarian internationalism, saw to the unity of its ranks and to its close bonds with the people, when it maintained an open and critical view of results achieved, and when it tackled problems and requirements that were coming to a head in due time and

consistently. This fundamental lesson of history is particularly relevant today, in the current efforts to attain a qualitatively higher stage in the development of the socialist society.

An expression of the CPCZ's responsibility toward our people and the international revolutionary movement and evidence of the implementation of its mission at the current turning point of development is the elaboration of the line of accelerating socioeconomic development, mapped out by the 17th CPCZ Congress. This line was further specified by the subsequent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, particularly by the seventh session, which gave this line the shape of a comprehensive program and timetable for restructuring and democratizing all spheres of social life.

Serving as a great inspiration for us in this process are the experiences and the Leninist course that was embarked upon and is being developed by the CPSU, in the spirit of the legacy of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I. The Party as the Initiator and Guarantor of Restructuring [subhead]

It emerged from the conclusions of the December session of the CPCZ Central Committee, with which we embarked upon an important stage in implementing restructuring, that among the paramount tasks with which we must deal is the work of the party and the application of its leading role in carrying out the important changes we have taken up in the process of economic reform and the democratization of society. We realize that the main motive force of restructuring is and must be the party, which serves the people. It is our duty to assess responsibly and openly how well the party as a whole is prepared for restructuring and what needs to be done for it to master the new tasks as well as it can.

An integral part of preparations for today's session were wide-ranging consultations with members and candidate members of the Central Committee and with the aktiv of functionaries in regions and districts. We used as our point of departure the assessment made by the annual membership meetings of primary party organizations. The key criterion was to gauge the standard of party work by the high requirements of the present stage, from the viewpoint of the party's irreplaceable responsibility for the further development of society, for the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th congress. This is conditional on the whole party being galvanized into action. The seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee charged party agencies and organizations and all communists with the task of spearheading the struggle for restructuring. Communists and other working people have responded to the conclusions of that session with approval and it can be said that they have had a favorable influence on the general political atmosphere.

The importance of the issues under discussion is accentuated by the fact that at present, in fact, the crucial prerequisites are being created for a successful embarkation upon restructuring. This means that we must free ourselves of the captivity of rigid views on a number of questions and overcome approaches that are under the sway of the extensive method of economic management. Without this it is impossible to arrive at a qualitatively higher level of socialism. Any other course of action would inevitably lead to stagnation and to the evolution of phenomena of crisis in the economy and other spheres of social life. We must not permit anything of that sort. Moreover, we avail ourselves of considerable production, scientific-technical, as well as human potentials that make it possible to bring about a reversal in the nationwide process.

It is only natural that restructuring is the subject of very lively and engrossing discussions. The absolute majority of communists and other citizens deems it essential. Disparate views crop up. Some—and there are quite a few of those—recommend that we proceed with great caution, while others, on the other hand, argue that we are going slowly, that there is more talk about restructuring than is being actually done for it. There are also those who wonder whether restructuring is necessary at all. Two different aspects are sometimes mixed up. One aspect is the specific results that some people already expect of restructuring, without considering that it is a long-term process and that we are only at its beginning. The other aspect is the answer to the question of whether anything—and, if so, what—is really being done for restructuring in the center, purposefully and without delay.

Let us at least briefly recall the main measures that have been adopted, many of which are being translated into reality already, in accordance with the set timetable.

At each meeting since last December, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat, and also the Government, have discussed the securing of the conclusions of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. In some key directions, the decision has been made to accelerate the course of work on restructuring. The "Directive for Ensuring the Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism" has been finalized and approved. The "Principles of Restructuring the Organizational Structures of the Enterprise Base, Employment, and Material Security of Released Employees" have been approved and published.

Today's session of the Central Committee has been presented with proposals for changes in the structure of central agencies, and in the content of their activity. Provisions have been made for their new and more rational internal arrangement and for a considerable reduction in the number of their staff. It is appropriate to recall once again that the whole purpose of these measures is to substantially change the content, methods, and style of work along the entire axis of management,

starting with the Federal Government. We have accelerated this step in the interest of strengthening and improving the work of the central sphere of management, which is, now in particular, faced with new demanding tasks connected with the gradual application of the new economic mechanism and with the restructuring of the production-technical base in the spirit of the draft law on state enterprises, the coming into force of which is now projected for 1 July this year, and not for 1 January 1989 as originally planned. These are serious matters involving a large-scale movement of cadres and related social issues. As a consequence of changes in the arrangement of managerial agencies, buildings will be vacated and, in line with a decision of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, returned to their original use, especially as apartments and for social, health, and cultural purposes.

In addition, a program of specific and systemic measures has been approved that are aimed at creating conditions for the restructuring of the economic mechanism and a timetable of tasks has been discussed concerning the implementation of the "Directive for Ensuring the Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism" and the legislative provisions for it. The influence of the party's Central Committee on the implementation of these tasks is increasing.

The CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat has approved the course of action by party agencies and organizations in the experimental testing of the principles of socialist self-management of labor collectives, and the election of enterprise and plant directors. In a number of enterprises, such elections have taken place already. It is apparent that where they are well prepared, the interest of the working people in the state and the prospects of enterprise affairs is increasing.

An intensive preparatory activity is taking place in the committees of legislative agencies so that the Federal Assembly can discuss at its session in June the Law on State Enterprises and the laws on agricultural and nonagricultural cooperatives. Following their assessment in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the draft amendments to the Labor Code, the draft law on economic arbitration, and the draft law on foreign economic relations are also to be discussed by the Federal Assembly. The preparation of Labor Code amendments, the principles of which have been submitted for public debate and meet with great interest among the working people, has been accelerated. In the third quarter of the year, the amended Labor Code should be discussed at a conference of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and, subsequently, by the Federal Assembly so that it can go into force on 1 January 1989.

The work on the system of management in the agricultural-food complex, which will be fully introduced on 1 January next year, is in an advanced preparatory stage.

A new system of management in public catering has been in force since the beginning of the year and selected enterprises in retailing have begun to test by experimentation new elements of management.

The work on the comprehensive restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices, which will go into force on 1 January 1989, intensively continues. This will establish the foundation for prices to better express socially inevitable costs and the utility value of products.

The CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, as it proceeds from its control function, has also dealt with the solution of a number of current problems that the people find most annoying. Some of these problems can be eliminated without any great financial resources and without any exceptional demand for investment.

Steps have been taken to improve supplies of textile and leather goods to the domestic market, and supplies of building materials and metallurgical products for individual housing construction to the population. Imports of some types of industrial goods—color television sets, for example—will be increased. We also focus our attention on removing shortcomings in the range of foodstuffs, including products for diabetics.

Steps are being taken to generally improve material-technical provisions of health service needs, especially as regards pharmaceuticals, bandages and other dressing materials, and the expansion and upgrading of the pool of ambulances. The production of disposable syringes and needles will soon be expanded to meet the needs of our citizens. It has also been decided to improve the quality of nursing services and to speed up the construction of health centers for those with chronic illnesses and of institutions for physically and mentally handicapped children.

In the interest of a rational utilization of the housing stock, especially in Prague, an effective system of registering apartments will be introduced to eliminate unlawful manipulation of them. This is what citizens rightly demand.

It has also been decided to facilitate citizens' contact with the authorities. In some cases, the citizen's word of honor will replace previously required documents, such as extracts from police records, various medical certificates, or even documentary evidence that the citizen does not have coal, and the like. It will also no longer be necessary to furnish additional documentary evidence for data included in the identity card. The administrative procedures with regard to the construction of family homes and other private building projects will be simplified. Authorized car repair workshops will be introduced to assume guarantee for the technical condition of vehicles which they repair or check. In these cases, it will no longer be obligatory to have the technical condition of

the vehicle inspected by agencies of the Ministry of Interior. These are first steps toward eliminating shortcomings and red tape that people justifiably criticize.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and, subsequently, a joint session of the Central Committees of the CSSR, Czech SR, and Slovak SR National Front, and a nationwide consultative meeting of secretaries of regional and district National Front committees have discussed measures to activate the National Front and national committees.

Even what I have just enumerated and what we have begun to implement in the norm-setting and organizational sphere and in the solution of practical problems makes it apparent that we approach restructuring responsibly and that we do not needlessly lose time.

The complexity of the stage we are entering is shown by the fact that in a number of sectors outdated mechanisms no longer fulfill their functions while new ones are only starting to be applied which, moreover, in a number of cases run up against the barrier of inertia and old approaches. We must not permit any weakening of supervisory activity in this situation. This requires of the party as a whole, especially of its Central Committee and of Communists in governments and in the National Front, and of enterprise managements, consistency and a well-thought-out course of action, aimed at ensuring the requirements of restructuring and the fulfillment of the urgent tasks of the plan in the remaining years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

II. To Correctly Apply the Party's Leading Role [subhead]

Comrades, in turning attention today to the key questions of the work of our party, we consider it necessary to recall once again wherein lies the essence and the basic meaning of the measures that we have begun to implement.

We start with the premise that a new quality in the development of society can only be achieved if the deepening of socialist democracy rests on a fundamental reform of the economy and if, at the same time, the economy will feel the stimulating influence of democratization and draw strength from the working people's own interest as responsible managers, from their collective and personal stake in the best possible work results. It is a policy that is aimed at reinforcing the independence, powers, and responsibility of the enterprise sphere and at introducing self-management. Part and parcel of this policy is also the enhancement of the independence, initiative, and responsibility of state agencies, national committees, and National Front organizations. This policy does not rely on the strength of administrative directives and injunctions, but on an active and creative approach to securing the objectives of the further development of society, on an approach that rests on a policy of openness, on constructive criticism and self-criticism, and on extensive public access to information and public control.

In short, from this angle of vision it is necessary to see, above all, that the line of acceleration, restructuring, and democratization cannot mean only the rectification of accumulated problems and shortcomings or some partial refinement of the previous path of extensive development. What matters—and must matter—is a basic revolutionary turn toward intensive development, toward organically linking socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, toward creating a qualitatively new state of socialist society in the interest of the people and for the people, and toward enhancing the attractiveness and the positions of socialism on the international scale. This is what must determine the thinking and the conduct of all party agencies and organizations, of every Communist.

We must put into motion without delay all forces of society, we must set free all the sources of the initiative and activity of the working people, the workers class, cooperative farmers, and the intelligentsia, in the natural and technical sciences as well as in the humanities.

One of the reasons that we must stress this requirement is the fact that some kind of "waiting for restructuring" has not yet been overcome at many places. Views to the effect that restructuring is a "reform" that will "come from above," that it will be simply "promulgated" by a certain date and everything will thereby be settled are a dangerous illusion that covers up helplessness and passivity. Many demand restructuring of others without pondering themselves their own practical behavior, their own approach to the fulfillment of work tasks and party duties. Restructuring concerns literally everyone and can be implemented only as a result of a joint effort by the working people. This determines new demands on the application of the leading role of the party and on the style and methods of party work.

In the socialist society, which comes into being and evolves on the basis of the scientific world view and the committed, creative activity of the working people, the leading role of the communist party cannot be impaired. On the contrary, its role must increase.

At our session today we want to concentrate primarily on those questions concerning the restructuring of the work of the party that we consider to be particularly relevant and urgent and that are of key importance for deepening the party's leading role and our further course of action.

From this viewpoint, the main prerequisite for the successful implementation of the revolutionary restructuring of the socialist society is the reinforcement of the party's links with the workers class and other working

people. This means that all party agencies and organizations must in their entire activity make a turn toward wide-ranging and effective political-organizational, mass-political, and ideoeducational work among the people.

We cannot deny that in the last 4 decades the party and society have gone not only through periods of rapid advancement and significant successes, but also through convulsions [zvraty] that caused certain values to be called into question and generated certain disbelief in the abilities of the managerial centers. To this day we come across the consequences of this. The working people's faith in the party and the party's leading role will grow if the party applies the strength of Marxist-Leninist truth in its confrontation with objective reality. The embellishment of the real state of affairs and administrative methods of management that often supplant political work are a serious obstacle to the influence of the party on the working people. We must not forget even for a minute that the bonds tying the party with the workers class and other working people only come about when people see that we are in the position to implement, along with them, what we have resolved and what we tell them.

The party's main function is to influence and direct relations in society, and the life of society in general, through a clearly formulated political program. The methods of the party's work, its political-organizational, cadre, and ideological activity, and its ability to implement the set program must correspond to this political program. In exercising its influence within the political system, the party must see to it that state and economic agencies do not hide behind the party when failing to fulfill their tasks and that they do not eschew unpopular measures. At the same time it holds true that the party must not arrogate to itself the right to make decisions on behalf of these agencies in dealing with tasks which they are supposed to fulfill. This also applies to the party's relationship with national committees and social organizations.

In view of ingrained stereotypes, it will not be easy to delineate mutual relations, tasks, and responsibilities. Although the objectives of party and state policy are identical, approaches to securing these objectives must be specific. We must therefore achieve a situation in which the party is not engulfed in the solution of matters that fall into the competence of other segments of the managerial structure, from central agencies down to the lowest subdivisions.

Party agencies and their apparatus must realize that if they supplant state and economic agencies they impair their own irreplaceable activity, be it political, ideological, organizational, or cadre activity, and, ultimately, the leading role of the party. On the other hand, representatives of state and economic agencies must not forget that they carry full responsibility for their activity and that it is their duty to account for it to the relevant collectives and superior agencies.

Each case of supplanting creates scope for the growth of buck-passing [alibismus], puts a damper on initiative, and weakens the feeling of responsibility. Moreover, working people's criticism of various disorders, mistakes, and shortcomings turns against the party, instead of against the true culprits. Equally harmful for the party is an indifferent attitude toward the activity of Communists in economic agencies and in other sectors and disregard for shortcomings in their work.

The wasteful duplication of the activity of state, economic, and social agencies and organizations has its roots in the administrative methods of management by injunction, which we are now undoing. We also cannot lose sight of the fact that serious weaknesses and shortcomings have often been manifested along the axis of state, economic, and social management, starting with central agencies, as a consequence of which party agencies and organizations, in an endeavor to have the problems solved, have been assuming even tasks for which someone else was directly responsible. There have also been frequent delays in enforcing adopted measures, compared with the course of action along party lines. Party agencies and organizations have thus often been pressed by objective circumstances to adopt such a style of work. We at the party's Central Committee must also feel our share of responsibility for this state of affairs. It must also be felt by Communists in governments, in ministries, and in other links of management.

Fighting supplanting can, however, on no account mean weakening, but, on the contrary, it can only mean reinforcing the party's influence on events in society, in regions, districts, plants, and localities. And it definitely cannot mean the confinement of party work to mere adult education. The party must be concerned with providing political guidance for and giving boost and support to the creative, responsible activity of people, of cadres. Political guidance is not some vague concept but it has its specific content, in which it is particularly important that the party and its agencies see to the enhancement of independence and responsibility in the work of all state and economic agencies and, at the same time, continuously monitor and critically assess how these agencies meet the targets set for them by the party's program, whether they apply correct methods of work, and whether their entire activity and their results contribute to the interests of society and the working people. In these respects the Central Committee and its agencies will have to apply far higher demands and requirements on the activity of Communists in the governments, on ministers and other accountable officials in central agencies and institutions. Regional, district, all-enterprise, and local party committees, as well as primary party organizations, must also proceed in the same spirit.

We will be unable to successfully meet the tasks of restructuring without consistent, purposeful, and effective control of how Communists in state, economic, and

social agencies discharge their functions, how leading party cadres and all Communists implement the CPCZ policy in individual sectors of the life of society.

The new, high demands on the application of the party's leading role and on raising the standard of the political guidance of society put pronouncedly in the forefront the importance of the party's ideological work. We intend to deal with ideological work at a separate session of the CPCZ Central Committee. Today we consider it essential to at least briefly recall some urgent tasks in the ideological sphere.

The changes taking place in economic and political life immediately affect the minds and the psychology of people, their interests and standing in society, and they also influence their behavior. Connected with this is the need to knowledgeably explain the problems of restructuring and democratization and to overcome rigid and dogmatic views on the development of the socialist society as a process that is free of contradictions, views that result in efforts to conserve existing practices, existing production and social relations, and existing forms of activity of party, state, economic, and social agencies and organizations.

The orientation and the methods of the party's ideological and mass-political work must be imbued with a creative and resourceful approach so that this work is conducted in the form of discussion and dialogue and does not dodge burning issues. This matter concerns all communists and every primary organization. At the same time it needs to be stressed that only a united course of action in the political, economic, and ideological spheres can produce the requisite results.

One more thing needs to be mentioned. Hostile propaganda interprets the process of restructuring and democratization in the socialist countries in its own way. With regard to Czechoslovakia, ground was being prepared since last year for a campaign of slanders in connection with the anniversaries of important events in the life of our country, particularly in connection with the 20th anniversary of January 1968 and the events that followed.

We have borne witness of late to how anticommunist forces, with the assistance of some Western information media, try to directly organize the formation of opposition groups, incite them to actions that are designed to create unrest and tension in our society, and even use religious motivation as a cover for this. We must resolutely reject such attempts. In our state all believers can enjoy religious freedoms guaranteed by the constitution and take part in religious life and religious rites. No one is curtailed in this in our country.

We do not overrate the attempts of our enemies, but we do not underrate them either. We have dealt with the matter in the Presidium of the party's Central Committee. What is important is to ensure that the party, that Communists are thoroughly informed about these problems, that they come out effectively against such attempts, and that they exercise their influence among citizens in such a way that the organizers of antisocialist actions—who are in most cases individuals—remain isolated in their intentions. We shall not allow anyone to profit in a parasitical way from the process of restructuring and democratization. The laws of the state apply to everybody and everyone who violates them must face the legal consequences.

III. Economy—The Main Front of the Battle for the Development of the Socialist Society [subhead]

Comrades,

to responsibly ensure the tasks in the restructuring of society and to get ready for the new conditions for the conduct of business primarily requires that we do not lose sight anywhere of how current tasks in the national economy are being met.

The results achieved in this field since the 17th congress were discussed by the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The data on plan fulfillment in the first 3 months of the year indicate that there has been a certain improvement over last year, although it is necessary to take into account the scaling-down of some tasks, compared with the 5-year plan, and the favorable climatic conditions. The plan for adjusted net output was fulfilled 102 percent. The number of enterprises that fell short of the planned adjusted net output was lower than in the first quarter of last year, but they still represented 18.2 percent of all enterprises. Even this year the overall results thus cannot satisfy us fully.

A deeper look at the economic developments shows that unfavorable tendencies and serious problems and shortcomings linger on, arising primarily from the fact that we fall short of the planned objectives of intensification.

The economic results of enterprises in the first 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan diverge from the targets outlined by the 17th CPCZ Congress. While the meeting of quantitative indices is satisfactory, we are falling short of the planned qualitative indices, both in manufacturing proper and in the resultant production.

The growth rate of gross social product in 1987 was 0.7 percent higher than planned. This entire increase was siphoned off by the failure to comply with the planned savings of production inputs, the proportion of which in output was 0.6 percent higher than planned. This represents on aggregate roughly Kcs9 billion in comparable prices, of which national income was deprived.

The fact that the planned proportion of material costs in output was exceeded found its expression in the failure to meet the plans for adjusted net output, particularly in industry and in the building sector. Planned wage costs per Kcs100 worth of output were not complied with

either. The higher-than-planned level of cost-intensiveness in 1987 also meant that profit generated from the internal economy was 3.9 percent, or Kcs5.3 billion, lower than planned. Although profits were higher than in 1986, only 50 percent, instead of the planned 100 percent, of their increase was covered by relative material savings.

The unfavorable trend in the accumulation of inventories deteriorated further. Although the plan provided for a cut in inventories, by the end of the year inventories in centrally administered organizations increased by Kcs11.2 billion. Production inventories accounted for most of this increase.

These problems, together with the shortage of internal resources, are the main reasons for the liquidity problems of some enterprises.

The results in financial economy also have an impact on the state budget, the balance of which was secured by drawing on reserves.

All of this combined is reflected in a lower-than-planned growth of the social productivity of labor and of national income. While the projections of the congress envisaged a 3.5 percent rate of growth in national income in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, in 1986 we attained 2.8 percent and in 1987, according to the statistics, 2.2 percent. In the first 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan we thus fulfilled only 5.1 percent of the 18-19 percent growth rate target set by the congress.

The planned 3.5 percent annual increase in national income was not chosen by mere accident, nor is it an expression of political ambition. It is a value that must be achieved to satisfy three categories of important needs: the needs of growth in the living standards and in social development, the needs of restructuring and modernization of the production-technical base of our national economy, and the needs of the country's defense.

It must be pointed out, however, that the use of national income is being fulfilled in keeping with the intentions of the 5-year plan. Progress is in harmony with social intentions and living costs have essentially been stabilized. Real wages, for example, increased 2 percent. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, private consumption increased more than 4 percent. The fact that, on the one hand, we do not generate the planned resources and, on the other, spend resources in harmony with the planned, but in fact not achieved, generation of resources considerably complicates the ensuring of a proportionate development and economic balance in the remaining years of the 5-year plan. This path, on which we were able to draw on existing reserves, cannot be pursued any longer, otherwise we would get into a situation in which radical measures would become inevitable. We must unconditionally earn the funds to finance further social development. Regrettably, far from all people understand this. This is borne out by the proposals advanced by economic organizations toward the end of last year, which, had they been adopted, would have meant a drop by an extra Kcs14 billion in gross national income compared with the already adjusted plan for 1988. I stress that the demand for this cut was coupled with the demand for an increase in the volume of production input by two-thirds. These tendencies are alarming, making it apparent that extensive approaches to the creation of national income linger on.

We have deemed it necessary to openly point to grievous problems in the development of the national economy where we must bring about the requisite changes at any price. We are not retreating from the basic intentions of the 5-year plan, we are not giving up. On the contrary, we are mobilizing all forces to minimize, as far as possible, deviations from the fulfillment of its specific tasks. That is also why we so urgently pose the question of the consistent fulfillment of this year's plan. It is necessary to literally step up the struggle for better national economic performance, to attain savings and high production efficiency and, in particular, to reduce production input. It is certain that faster progress in these directions is hindered by the existing mechanism, which is why we are changing it. However, it is inadmissible to blame all problems on it. There are a considerable number of subjective mistakes and shortcomings in managerial work and also in decisionmaking, from the central agencies down to the enterprise sphere. The appropriate agencies must also speedily resolve some outstanding issues concerning the plan for this year in a number of enterprises.

However, nowhere should matters be confined to the mere attainment of the set figures of the plan; the principle that the economy must have a pronounced social thrust and use must be given priority and move to the foreground everywhere. We must assess not only how much is produced, but also at what cost it is produced, at which technical level and quality, how the needs of the domestic market and of export are satisfied, and how the long-term prospects of society's development are provided for. This, too, must be at the center of attention of party agencies and Communists along the entire axis of state and economic management, from top to bottom. The activity of social organizations, particularly the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth Union, and the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society, and the development of labor initiative must also be oriented in this direction.

Proceeding from the results achieved thus far, at the end of January 1988 the CSSR Government laid down the task of implementing in the years 1988-90 a program of measures geared to safeguarding the targets of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, reinforcing balance in the economy, and overcoming problems resulting from the shortcomings in plan fulfillment in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. In the interest of reducing the strain between resources and use, the decision has been made, for example, to reduce

the volume of newly started projects by approximately Kcs45 billion compared with the original intentions. Of this reduction, Kcs20 billion are provided for in the implementation plan for 1988. A program to streamline the managerial sphere has been adopted, which foresees major manpower savings, and the task has been assigned to draw up a course of action to fundamentally rationalize public consumption. In connection with the measures being prepared, a ban has also been issued on new construction of administrative buildings, which should save several hundred million of korunas in state budget expenditures.

Work has also started on preparing the plan for the years 1989-90 so that the draft plan can be responsibly assessed in the middle of this year.

The reorganization of the production-technical, scientific-research, and circulation base, on which we shall embark from 1 July this year, is confronting us with demanding tasks. Its aim is to establish conditions for the full enforcement of the law on state enterprises, for two-tier management, to rid our economy of unnecessary links of management, and to enable enterprises to engage in real entrepreneurship, to efficiently, promptly, and flexibly respond to the needs of society. At the same time it is necessary to critically point out that departmental and local approaches are strongly manifested in the talks on restructuring the organizational structures, which all responsible agencies must energetically resist.

The circle of enterprises that are involved in the Comprehensive Experiment in Enhancing the Independence and Responsibility of Economic Organizations is gradually expanding. More than one-quarter of all employees are currently involved in the experiment.

IV. The Party in the Forefront of the Development of Socialist Democracy [subhead]

Comrades, the entire history of our party teaches us that all its successes have always been rooted in firm bonds with the people, based on trust in and respect for the working man, for his views and experiences, and on the development of his creative forces and abilities. This is also our point of departure in establishing conditions for a wide-ranging democratization of the political system and of our entire social life.

We have dealt with these issues comprehensively at the fifth and seventh sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee and are taking practical steps in this direction.

Among the most important of these steps is the enhancement of independence and responsibility at the level of the self-accounting [chozrascotni] sphere, which is designed to allow labor collectives to actually act as true managers. The principles concerning the application of self-management that are codified in the draft laws on state enterprises and agricultural and non-agricultural cooperatives represent important measures aimed at deepening and expanding socialist democracy in the production process. The deepening of socialist democracy in the production sphere determines the feasibility of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the success of the party's strategic line and is therefore the key area of party work.

An important role in the process of developing socialist democracy and restructuring social relations is played by the National Front and by its activation. The proposals for enhancing its participation in the formulation, implementation, and control of policy, which had also been assessed by the fifth and seventh sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, were discussed by the joint session of the [CSSR, Czech SR, and Slovak SR] National Front Central Committees in February, which gave its full backing to them. Communists active in National Front organizations must now start translating these principles into life, without waiting for additional instructions. None of these organizations must be underestimated; each of them occupies its specific place in the political system of our society. The quality of the work of National Front organizations, and the growth of their influence, are inseparable from the reinforcement of their independence and from the democratization of their internal life, in short, from their own restructuring. Party and state agencies, as well as agencies of the National Front, must beware of unsuitable and insensitive interference in their activity and internal life.

The requirement needs to be consistently enforced that, as a matter of principle, the party line in the agencies and organizations of the National Front must be implemented through the medium of Communists who work in them. For this to be the case, it is necessary to consult them, to consider their positions and views, and to make them regularly render account of their work.

The importance of party groups in the elected agencies of these organizations, which party agencies must thoroughly inform and also consult in preparing important decisions, is therefore growing. The recommendation of Communists for offices in all these organizations requires extraordinary attention because only those can be successful in them who have the political and character prerequisites to command natural authority in the public. The fact must not be forgotten anywhere that the safeguarding of party policy in these organizations hinges on the responsible work of Communists and on their ability to explain this policy and to enlist for it, by setting a personal example, the broadest possible strata of citizens.

As has frequently been emphasized, the focus of our lasting attention must be the work of Communists in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and among young people.

As for relations with noncommunist political parties, the leaderships of those parties have unequivocally welcomed our positions expressed at the seventh session of

the CPCZ Central Committee. These relations are rooted in the common policy of the National Front. They are based on mutual trust, openness, and sincere cooperation. Mutual consultations and exchanges of views and information within the National Front or in bilateral talks, as confirmed by our recent talks with the leadership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, are a suitable and beneficial method and we will continue to use it.

The development of socialist democracy and the principles of self-management has a major impact on the activity of national committees. It is necessary that they utilize their wide-ranging powers to better satisfy people's needs, to improve services, the maintenance of the housing stock, trade, and health services, and to more energetically look after public order and the meeting of tasks within the framework of the "Z" project [community self-improvement program] and election programs, to which voters have given their full support. At the same time they must meet the challenging tasks arising for them from the laws on state enterprises and agricultural and other cooperatives, resist narrow enterprise interests, literally guard the riches of nature and act as consistent protectors of the environment. All of this makes it necessary that party agencies and organizations exert a far greater influence on the activity of deputies in this respect—on Communists, party groups, and on the work of party organizations in the national committees' apparatus.

An amendment of the Law on National Committees has been prepared, which will ensure the further enhancement of their role, the projection of the principles of the restructuring of society and the economic mechanism into the activity of these fundamental components of people's power and state administration, which also direct the extensive sphere of local industry and services.

Communists in national committees have the duty to observe democratic methods in their work, and to expose and resolve the causes of frequently arbitrary behavior and decisions in matters of citizens' needs and rights. They must see to it that the very important issues that the national committees are resolving are submitted to the general public for assessment at citizens' meetings and that jointly adopted conclusions are consistently implemented. They must resolutely oppose all phenomena of bureaucratism and insensitive approach to people. They must set an example of direct contact with their constituents and citizens, and of accounting for their work. This will enhance both their own personal authority, and also the authority of the party.

The demands we place on Communists in national committees apply doubly to Communists-deputies in national councils and the Federal Assembly. The need to prepare a number of new legal regulations and the exercise of the control function of these bodies means that the activity of the deputies of these legislative bodies is acquiring increasing importance.

A new draft law on the status of deputies and the agenda of the Federal Assembly is also being prepared. In the interest of the further clear intensification of socialist democracy, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium regards it as necessary to devote itself to perfecting the system of general elections and strengthening the independence of the courts.

V. Proceeding More Resolutely in Strengthening Discipline, Order, and Legality [subhead]

The party's preparation for the tasks of restructuring presupposes that we overcome a number of serious problems that have gradually accumulated at the same time and the solution of which has to be approached resolutely and in a principled way everywhere. We therefore link the intensification of socialist democracy inseparably with the strengthening of discipline, order, and legality. I do not think there is any need to prove the great political importance of achieving a fundamental turn in that respect for the development in the party and society, for the successful course of restructuring.

There are various negative phenomena in particular that we must put an end to once and for all, such as unearned incomes, trends that strengthen individualism and, in a number of cases, also the misuse of functions and violation or circumvention of the law. The deeply rooted egalitarianism, which is a violation of social justice, causes not only great economic, but also moral damage. We must be more critical of the gap between word and deed, between preaching the ideals and ethical values of socialism and how they are implementated in practice, and we must draw the appropriate consequences.

Instances of falsifying data on the fulfillment of tasks, which, unfortunately, we come across fairly often, are a serious antisocial phenomenon. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has addressed that issue and briefed lower bodies about it, and demands rectification. According to the results of checks carried out by the top agencies of people's control in 1,226 enterprises and institutions, in more than half of the organizations various forms of distortion of data on the fulfillment of tasks and other indicators were practiced, making it possible to pay unjustified bonuses or remunerations. For example, the Trnava Automobile Works and Agrozet of Prostejov billed production which had not yet been manufactured, the Chirana enterprise of Stara Tura feigned sales of inventories, and the Prefa enterprises of Brno and of Hyskov gained unjustified financial advantage from failing to observe technological discipline when mixing concrete mixtures. The superior bodies did not draw the appropriate consequences from the shortcomings. Only the check later did so. At the same time, with a few exceptions, the reports supplied along the line of management contained positive assessments of the results of the struggle against negative phenomena that did not correspond to the true state of affairs. The superior components, on the whole, accepted these reports uncritically as a basis for similar reports to higher

bodies. One also has to say openly that in a number of cases the relevant party officials knew about these irregularities and kept silent about them.

The Committees of People's Control are also discovering continuing grave negative phenomena connected with product quality. And the worst thing is that in a number of places the party organizations themselves are indifferent to shortcomings that have been discovered, even in cases when they are committed by party members. People are also looking the other way when persons are appointed to various leading positions and posts that involve responsibility for financial and material resources when these same appointees have been sentenced for offenses in the identical area of work. The fact that in quite a few places, enterprise or even departmental controls are not fulfilling their function is also escaping attention. In these cases the protection of property remains on the periphery of interest, also for the ranking personnel. We have to resolutely put an end to this.

The disconcerting thing is that some ranking personnel could not even oppose negative phenomena, because they themselves were party to them or were involved in other unlawful activity. However, those officials who, although not having done anything wrong themselves knew about these unlawful matters and did not draw the appropriate conclusions also bear political responsibility. Let us consider the political consequences of such facts and draw a lesson from them.

We must not allow ourselves to be reconciled to any of the abuses we are talking about here. The fact that they are still occurring is evidence that the work we are doing with the letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to party agencies and organizations on strengthening the effectiveness of the struggle against violation of the principles of socialist legality, morals, and discipline is still not consistent enough. Here it is necessary to achieve a turnaround, which is an integral part of the restructuring of our life.

In the struggle to overcome negative, harmful phenomena, and strengthen discipline and order, the party must act in union with the socialist state and its bodies, the Prosecutor's Office and the courts, and with social organizations, especially the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union. The self-managing bodies in enterprises, too, face important tasks in that respect. It is urgent to more emphatically marshal public opinion against all violations of socialist morale and legality, literally to foster the cult of honest and conscientious work, to appreciate it properly and reward it fairly. We are convinced that the working people will support such a course.

VI. Paying Paramount Attention to Quality, Purity, and Activity of Party Ranks [subhead]

When assessing the issue of how the party is prepared for restructuring, we must also address ourselves to its present state, composition, and the improvement of its ranks.

The CPCZ ranks today consist of 1,717,016 members and candidate members, of which 109,429 are candidate members. In 2 years the number of Communists increased by 2.5 percent, which means that the dynamism of the party's numerical growth has dropped in accordance with the requirements of the 17th Congress. The party has a good social and age structure, and the standard of the Communists' education has markedly improved. Almost two-thirds of members and candidate members are workers by origin. A total of 50.2 percent of Communists are directly involved in material production, of which 51.9 percent are active workers. This is in accordance with the Congress line, which aims at strengthening the worker character of the party.

We cannot ignore the fact that in creating the party ranks a comprehensive approach is lacking, that there is often even an administrative approach, and that the importance of systematic care for the education of members and candidate members is frequently underestimated. Not infrequently enrollment of candidate members and fulfillment of itemized allocations is seen as the central aspect of the work. One loses sight of political objectives, one does not discern the specific conditions of the worksites and the need to strengthen party influence in work collectives as well as among the public.

The conclusions of the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee provide the line for our work to improve the party ranks. These conclusions must be consistently and comprehensively implemented. This means we must activate existing members and candidate members, and at the same time complement the party ranks with new blood. The main stress must be on the quality of the newly enrolled members and candidate members. From this viewpoint it is necessary to substantially increase demands in respect to selection. The selection should focus on workers and technical intelligentsia, particularly in factories and at construction projects; in scientific institutions on scientists; in the health sector on physicians and also on nurses; at institutes of higher learning on the best students and teachers. In other words, on the key professions. It is necessary to assert that the main criterion for the improvement of the membership base be the strengthening of its revolutionary character, of its workers core, the enhancement of the organizations' ability to act, and the enhancement of the activity of all communists with resulting growth of the party's authority and influence.

In principle it is necessary to pose the question of activity and of Communists being an example. This is a key problem, which is directly connected with the party's unity, ability to act, and authority. The reason we stress this is that, according to the party bodies' findings, there are quite a few passive members. Essentially, the fulfillment of their duties is limited to paying their dues and

attending meetings. The party has no place, as the saying goes, for people who are members only on paper.

The causes of passivity have to be concretely studied, and it is necessary to differentiate what lies in the Communist himself, what lies in the work of organization, and what in the conditions, in the general atmosphere on worksites and localities. The decisive thing, above all, is to consistently ensure that the right conditions are created and that every Communist is able to have an open say and actively participate in the work of his primary organization. One has to have a sensitive attitude to old Communists, who—although they can no longer work much actively—have to be reckoned with and whose experience must be used in training younger party functionaries. We also think it is right to consider how to make use of and how to involve in further work at the level of the Central Committee, regional and district committees those officials who are coming to the end of their professional political work, and are very experienced and capable of playing a role in the creation and control of the implementation of party policy.

One of the fundamental factors influencing the work and discipline of Communists and their ability to set an example for others is the high degree of their ideopolitical preparedness and consciousness. Therefore it is important to equip them far better with the necessary information and arguments, and make sure that they assimilate the party's resolutions and documents, so that they not only know them but can also conscientiously assert them and be able to give well-informed answers to the questions people ask. From this viewpoint we must place greater demands also on party schooling, which must be closely linked with specific problems, with the party's everyday work. The restructuring of party education is also directed to this end.

We have a duty to wage a struggle to improve party life, against opportunism and liberalism, against pro forma membership and passiveness and to enhance the party's ability to carry things through and its influence on the masses of the working people. In the subconsciousness of every communist there should be enshrined the feeling of personal responsibility, which will grow stronger if he is systematically entrusted with concrete tasks and has to account to the party collective for his work, whatever post he holds. This also is the way to ensure the party's influence corresponds to the large proportion of Communist party members in society.

VII. Comprehensively Strengthening the Role of Party Primary Organizations and Their Ability To Act [subhead]

The consequences of the changes that are being implemented in the management of the economy as well as in other sectors, the enhancement of the powers and responsibility of enterprises and the implementation of self-management require the growth of self-management and responsibility of all components of the party. Demands are increasing for competent decisionmaking and for party bodies and organizations to approach the solution of tasks and problems with initiative and the style and methods of party work, especially regarding ensuring national interests and needs.

The tasks that have to be resolved require a creative approach to the realization of resolutions of the highest bodies. One cannot expect that directives and recipes for how to proceed in individual cases will be issued for everything. Leading functionaries must be able to act independently.

Attention must be focused, above all, on the strengthening of the role, independence, and ability to act of the primary party organizations. It is there that all important issues connected with the practical realization of the tasks of restructuring and democratization converge.

We value the fact that at their annual membership conferences the Communists endorsed the course we embarked on after the 17th Congress, and the conclusions of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. In a number of primary organizations, especially in production, the preparations connected with the implementation of the planned tasks were approached responsibly as were the conclusions of the seventh session into the adopted measures. Most of the meetings of the party organizations were characterized by a greater degree of openness and criticism.

At their annual meetings, certain changes were made in the committees of primary organizations. A total of 18.6 percent of committee members were newly elected, as were 15 percent of primary organization chairmen. Secret elections were held in 4.8 percent of organizations, in which 136 members of committees were elected, of which number there were 60 comrades who were considered for the post of chairman. On the whole, it has been found that a considerable percentage of functionaries and members still do not see secret elections as a sign of more profound democracy. Therefore it will be necessary to pay much more attention to that issue.

It would not be right not to see that in many organizations the conclusions of the seventh session were not understood in their entire breadth and complexity. Not all annual membership meetings have become the necessary impetus for concrete deeds, for activity and initiative in the implementation of restructuring, of the national economic plan, and in other spheres.

In many places deeply rooted formalism, stereotypes, and indifference to new phenomena and the needs of society can be seen. To put it concisely, a wind that would ripple stagnant waters and move problems that have accumulated over a long period or the conscience of all who are working the old way and not fulfilling their obligations could not be felt everywhere.

Not enough was done in requiring the communist ranking personnel to account for the way they had ensured the policy of the party and say how they intended to grapple with the new tasks.

The weak spot of several of the annual membership meetings was that they did not stress the need to consistently observe the party statutes and draw the appropriate conclusions when they are violated.

When planning their conferences, district and regional party committees must draw conclusions from these shortcomings.

The need to continue to strengthen the role of the primary organizations in such a way as to make them the political core of work collectives is coming to the foreground especially. Their main task is to be in the forefront of restructuring and the development of socialist self-management, in the forefront of increasing the responsibility of work collectives for their results and asserting the principle of fair remuneration, as well as dealing with the social question that concerns the working people. At the same time, their task is to effectively influence the strengthening of discipline and order on worksites and engender a high degree of commitment. In order to achieve this the Communists must intensify their direct contacts with the working people and, with their daily work, strengthen the working peoples' faith in the course that has been embarked on, at the same time combining the endurance of the current tasks of worksites and workplaces with the solution of their own needs and interests. There is a need to overcome the reserve of some primary party organizations in this respect.

The party organizations play an important role in establishing the bodies of self-management in enterprises and in developing their activity, which is currently being tested by experimentation. It is necessary to make sure that experienced workers, prominent designers, technicians, Communists, persons without party affiliation, members of the other political parties, people dedicated to socialism who have natural authority among the working people, and officials of party, trade union, and other social organizations are elected to the self-management bodies.

It is an important requirement to strengthen the political activity of party organizations throughout the entire process of participation by work collectives in the management of production by means of the activity of the self-managing bodies in such a way as to sustain people's creative participation and socialist entrepreneurship. A party organization must work not only with Communists, but with all members of self-management, and consult with them about how best to ensure under local conditions the realization of the tasks of the party policy.

Regarding the establishment of a new scientific-technical, production and circulation [obchova] base, it will be necessary to seek and test the best forms of party structure to ensure the party's influence under new conditions.

The party organizations and Communists are confronted with difficult tasks—especially during the transition to the new economic mechanism, when the new mechanism is not yet fully operational. These tasks involve opposing speculation that is detrimental to national interests and overcoming the tendency to rely on the automatic operation of the instruments of the new mechanism.

Party organizations must not ignore anything that is instrumental in deciding the quality of products or their success in exports as well as on the domestic market. They should thoroughly analyze such factors as technical-economic parameters, cost cutting and so on. This includes having an effective influence on the introduction of intra-enterprise economic accountability, the determination of quality norms, calculations, the buildup of and efficient inner-party planning, management, and organization of work, including the implementation of the brigade form of organization and remuneration. It also constitutes the main part of the preparations for working under the conditions of the Law on State Enterprises.

One cannot expect the process of restructuring in the economic and social sphere only to last a short time and to be without problems. We cannot expect that everyone will agree with everything and actively support the necessary changes. Let us take, for example, the aforementioned overcoming of egalitarianism. Experience in that respect shows that even something that is right cannot succeed if the courage to oppose those who are used to receiving pay and even bonuses for poor quality work is lacking. In this context we must place great emphasis on enhancing the role of foremen and on strengthening their position in work collectives. Only a joint course of action by the party and trade union organizations, economic management and self-management bodies, relying on the support of all honest workers, will yield the desired results.

We realize that the standard of party work in the primary components depends on the abilities of the chairman and the entire committee. The Central Committee values highly comrades who are carrying out with responsibility, enthusiasm, and militancy this honorable and responsible work. All the more urgent is the duty of party bodies to see to the training of this basic aktiv of functionaries. The district committees must especially improve their work with chairmen and other members of the committees of primary organizations and help them learn the correct style and methods of work, generalize new experience, and make better use of regional political schools, houses of political education, and seminars to train them.

It is also necessary to mention the activity of the primary organizations in central bodies, in which, as it arises from the submitted draft laws, important changes are envisaged. One demands of ministers and other ranking personnel of the central bodies, of all Communists in those bodies, and of departments of the party Central Committee to fully comprehend the purpose and essence of the changes in the role, position, and the content of work of central bodies and ensure consistent procedure when implementing the set tasks. This also means ensuring everything that is necessary for restructuring the enterprise sphere, gradual realization of the Law on State Enterprises, the laws on cooperatives and, naturally, also for the fulfillment of the demands of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The streamlining of the central management sphere will involve, as it was said earlier, transfers of employees. It has been decided to create conditions for the assertion of abilities of those who will transfer to different worksites. At the same time it is necessary to make use of these employees' qualifications to strengthen with cadres the entire axis of management from the center all the way to enterprises, the tertial sphere, education, health care, and the like.

Of party organizations in the central state bodies we demand that they create a healthy atmosphere for the fulfillment of tasks, effect rapid consolidation of the reorganized or newly established structures, ensure a high degree of activity by Communists and all employees in the fulfillment of tasks connected with restructuring, and uncompromisingly combat bureaucratism in management methods.

This also puts greater demands on the work of the Central Committee's departments, on their influencing the directly managed party organizations in central bodies.

VIII. Raising the Standard of Activity, Bringing About a Turn in the Style and Methods of Work of Party Bodies and the Party's Apparatus [subhead]

The problems which we are solving are markedly increasing demands on the activity of regional party bodies.

Coming to the fore is the role of the district party committees, which directly influences the effectiveness of the primary organizations' work and creates conditions for the working people's broadest participation in the solution of key issues, for satisfying the interests and needs of the people.

The work in district committees is very demanding and requires resolving many tasks every day. The district committees did and are doing great meritorious work. But also here it is necessary to advance faster and more decisively regarding the changes of the style and methods of work. The district committees must feel greater responsibility for the solution of problems come to fruition, and with greater emphasis and more independently implement the policy of the party within the range of their activity. It is also desirable to overcome the one-sided orientation toward the solution of a great quantity of national economic problems, which has become so deeply rooted and which weakens the management of the primary organizations.

The district committee will not help the primary organization by planning for it down to the last details. Such practice stiffles its initiative, and leads to a formal and mechanical implementation of tasks. On the contrary, party organizations must be led to working independently, coping with their problems, and being able to correctly and creatively apply the party policy to local conditions.

The activity of regional and district committees must focus on the key problems within their field of operation. It must rest on a profound knowledge of the situation, a matter that requires work with a broad aktiv of the most experienced people. It is necessary to free oneself of the practice whereby regional and district committees often take a stand on everything, put far too many problems on the agenda of their deliberations, which, as a result, are then discussed superficially, and submit reports that are often descriptive and whose conclusions are formalistic. It is also necessary to put an end to "preparation for discussion," by which it is decided who is to speak on what subject, and how.

It also is necessary to put an end to adopting essentially identical resolutions for years concerning some problems and shortcomings, without analyzing why the previous resolutions had not been implemented. Not infrequently one assesses only how a resolution was discussed, and there is very little assessment of what has changed on the basis of it. Even where a resolution is well formulated, purposeful political-organizational and mass political work oriented toward its consistent implementation is often lacking. Sometimes it looks as if one believed in the omnipotence of a resolution, in its ability to implement itself on its own. Everywhere we must introduce the practice of having each new resolution on a certain issue proceed from an analysis of the previous one, of having it react to the shortcomings ascertained during its implementation, and of ensuring that it will not just repeat them. This is a demand which concerns the bodies of the Central Committee, as well as all lower components of the party structure.

It also is necessary to ponder the way the CPCZ Central Committee resolutions are passed on to the primary organizations. The important thing is that these resolutions, due to the so-called elaboration via regions and districts, do not become delayed and diluted on the way to party organizations. The Central Committee resolutions are mandatory for the entire party without exception, and all Communists must concretize and implement them without delay. Regional party bodies have

the duty to state, without procrastination, what they themselves will concretely do to implement a resolution within the range of their activity, and at the same time provide efficient and varied assistance to primary organizations.

At all levels it is necessary to pay greater attention to the entire system of intraparty information from the bottom to the top, and from the top to the bottom. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has critically assessed the current state of affairs, and measures have been adopted to improve work in that sphere. These measures should contribute to the assertion of the principle that truthful, complete, and rapid information is a matter for all party bodies and the entire apparatus, for all primary organizations. It is impossible to correctly direct things without knowing how the party policy is being received and realized, and what the current political atmosphere is like. In order to improve and speed up information about the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee bodies, it has been decided to publish an anthology of their resolutions. This will also serve to improve the way in which members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee and members of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission are informed.

The Central Committee, as the highest party body between congresses and as the political and ideological center also faces the task of improving the style of its work so that its deliberations will become more open and more businesslike.

In the Presidium we ourselves clarified the intentions of the content of the Central Committee session, a matter that should contribute to a united and coordinated effort by the entire party, of all its bodies and organizations in their preparations. This year, in addition to today's session, the plan of work reckons on a CPCZ Central Committee session on issues concerning the party's ideological work under conditions of restructuring and, at the end of the year, on a session on the plan for economic and social development of the CSSR in 1989 and on checking the realization of the tasks of restructuring the economic mechanism.

We are putting forward for consideration whether we should hold a CPCZ Central Committee session this year, on how its resolutions on scientific-technical development and on engineering are being implemented, at which the pertinent government officials—who are Communists—would submit control reports.

It can be seen that it will apparently be correct to include very important issues in the agenda of the future Central Committee sessions, such as the assessment of the effectiveness of the Czechoslovak educational system under conditions of restructuring and democratization, conceptual issues pertaining to the deepening of socialist democracy and self-management, including the electoral system, as well as key problems connected with environmental protection.

The CPCZ Central Committee is of the opinion that it is necessary to start working on the preparation of a long-term CPCZ program. At the next Central Committee session we want to propose the composition of a commission which would be charged with carrying out this exceptionally important task.

The discussion of all these issues must correspond to the great demands of realizing the strategic line of the 17th congress. From this viewpoint, it is necessary to ensure that Central Committee members and candidate members acquaint themselves in detail with the problems on which they will have to make decisions, with an objective analysis of the situation, and with proposals for solving the issues discussed. Therefore, it is necessary for members and candidate members of the CPCZ and members of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission to become more extensively involved in the preparation of materials and in checking on the implementation of resolutions. In the light of the demands to further develop the activity of the Central Committee, it will be correct to assess its agenda anew. The businesslike nature of our deliberations would certainly benefit from Central Committee members' and candidate members' being able—in addition to their basic speeches in the discussion—to submit factual recommendations and ask questions of the attending responsible functionaries and officials.

We have also begun to change the orientation of the content of the work of the Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat. In the Presidium we will pay greater attention to the life and work of the party and to elaborating conceptual issues to a greater extent. On principle, in accordance with the statutes, we want to strengthen the control function of the Secretariat. In their agendas we have included the submission of control reports on the realization of the conclusions of the 17th congress by some regional and district party organizations, material on experience from party work in enterprises and on the implementation of party resolutions by Communists-who are ranking personnel of state and economic bodies.

In the interest of unifying procedures and achieving a greater effect from work with the resolutions of the highest party bodies, we consider it useful to regularly convene statewide consultations of leading functionaries of regional and district committees and central political institutions. These consultations will also be an important place for generally applied experience. Actually, it is necessary to pay great attention to generally apply experience at all levels of the party structure, to seek, endorse, and disseminate everything that is new and useful that is arising in practice. The party press must also help with this more effectively.

Deepening the party's cognitive [poznavaci] and programmatic activity requires a substantial increase in the level and extent of the theoretical elaboration of key issues pertaining to the development of the party and

society. We demand that the party's theoretical and other socioscientific worksites analyze contemporary problems systematically and with a high standard, and recommend optimal solutions. It will be necessary for the CPCZ Central Committee bodies to assess the activity and usefulness of the structure of the CPCZ Central Committee's scientific worksites and their collaboration with the institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and higher institutes of learning, and to determine the orientation of the contents of their activity from the viewpoint of future needs.

Comrades, in the activity of all party bodies and organizations, in the entire party, we put stress on the growth of the role and authority of elected bodies, on consistent implementation of collectivism in their work, on pragmatism and effectiveness, on deepening intraparty democracy, the implementation of the democratic principles of work. In all this the party must be a model for the rest of the bodies and organizations.

The characteristic feature of restructuring and democratization is the growth of an attitude of criticism [kritic-nost] in the party and society. This is legitimate. It is unthinkable that restructuring could succeed without the development of constructive and specific criticism and self-criticism. One has to learn comradely criticism, not permit it to be misused and, at the same time, deal most resolutely with any limitation or suppression of it.

We must make substantially better use of citizens' letters, proposals, and suggestions, and with greater responsibility deal with recommendations submitted to deliberations of primary organizations and party bodies by Communists.

It is necessary to better know the needs and interests of all classes and social strata of the population. Public opinion polls, whose role has been acquiring an increasing importance in the process of democratization, conducted by experts, also must contribute to this. Views and standpoints on sensitive problems have to be thoroughly evaluated and made use of in political and management work, as well as by the press.

The method of accounting has to begin to be consistently implemented throughout the party, and conclusions have to be drawn on that basis, and those who are not fulfilling their tasks properly must be called to account. Appropriate plena have the duty to control and assess the work of their executive bodies, secretaries, and party apparatus with much greater vigor and higher demands.

The structure and the activity of party bodies' commissions of all levels must be reassessed. In connection with the process of democratization it is necessary to involve in their work not only the largest possible number of members of party bodies, but also the broader party aktiv and prominent experts.

In view of the increasing demands on the work of the party itself, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recommends deciding at this session to set up a commission for issues of the party's internal life, and at the next CPCZ Central Committee session to propose its composition. The establishment of a Central Committee commission to deal with problems of environmental protection, which, however, cannot substitute state bodies, is also worth contemplating.

Demands are also increasing on the work of the Central Control and Auditing Commission and the control and auditing commissions at lower levels of the party structure. These commissions must follow with great attention how members and candidate members adhere to the statutes, how they fulfill their duties and party resolutions. They are—and not only they, of course, but also party bodies—to call to account every Communist—regardless of the post he holds—who violates laws, commits punishable activity, or by his behavior and deeds besmear the party's clean shield.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission approaches its work responsibly. During checks and controls it applies highly demanding criteria, but the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat often do not contain conclusions corresponding to the ascertained facts. This is a weak spot which we must rectify together with the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

We expect that the party control and auditing commissions will effectively contribute to the creation of an atmosphere in the party needed for the successful fulfillment of the program of the 17th Congress.

At various deliberations and consultations held in connection with the preparations for today's Central Committee session it was recommended to ignore anonymous complaints. Further, it is desirable to substantially reduce the extent of various celebrations and official occasions—here we have already taken measures—and thus save social resources and people's time. From various sides it also was recommended to prepare a law which would make it mandatory to reveal the source of property arising from a disproportionate income. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium will deal more extensively with these and other issues, which are the subject of recommendations or criticism.

The party apparatus must contribute to the great effort aimed at desirable changes in the contents, style, and methods of party work. The party bodies need it, as it is their irreplaceable helper. However, one must approach its work with far greater demand and improve its quality. It is impossible not to see the shortcomings evident in its activity—rigid patterns, formalism, departmentalism, and sometimes even in efficiency. The apparatus cannot be put above a party body, but it also cannot be degraded

to a corps of clerks. It is run by elected bodies, appropriate secretaries, who must see to it that it proceeds in a unified way and in a coordinated manner when ensuring the party policy and party resolutions.

One has to demand of officials of the apparatus that they profoundly assimilate the essence of the contemporary political course, that they be in lively contact with party organizations and work collectives, that they know the situation and cadres in sectors entrusted to them. Every official of the apparatus must master the art of listening to people, learning from them, and being a model of selflessness and of principle. At present we are preparing to assess a document on the orientation of work and the structure of the apparatus from the viewpoint of the new tasks.

IX. The Party Policy's Key Place in the Process of Society's Restructuring and Democratization [subhead]

The restructuring of our socialist society and of party work puts new demands on the manner of selection, training, and placement of cadres. With this in mind, the seventh session of the party Central Committee adopted an important resolution on the improvement of cadre policy. It contains clear guidelines for the procedure of party bodies and organizations, it expresses new, higher demands on cadres, and puts an exceptional emphasis on the strengthening of collectivism and democratic principles in cadre work.

Cadre policy is the key to the successful restructuring and democratization of society. Everything depends on placing the most capable and best professionally and politically trained people with desirable moral qualities in the highest positions. Even under the new conditions, with their secret elections and secret applications for posts [konkursy], the party cannot relinquish its influence on the selection and placement of cadres. Party bodies and organizations must make use of their political influence to make sure that full support will go to those who not only want to, but also are capable of implementing the policy of the party, the National Front, and the socialist state; to those who command authority in the collectives they run, who are not afraid of problems, who are able to think conceptually, find practical solutions, and unite the working people in achieving high goals. To put it concisely: Knowing and being able to is not enough, there must also be courage and a craving to fight. These are the cadres that the party, the socialist state, and the entire society needs today.

Functionaries who behave haughtily, immodestly, who surround themselves with sycophants, who think they are irreplaceable and thus also taboo, do not correspond to these demands. As a decisive yardstick of cadre work—when it comes to their fellow workers—they regard the affinity for their person, they cultivate cronyism, and react with irritation to any criticism. People with such attributes, who, moreover, often have a tendency toward carrerism, cannot hold responsible posts.

In respect to cadres one has to value honor, modesty, and selflessness, their ability to subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the party and society. Here we do not mean just Communists. Along with them one has to promote to responsible posts people without party affiliation and members of other political parties. We have stressed this principle more than once and it must be implemented in practice more extensively.

The important tasks and requirements which exist at present require taking care of the training of cadres. We must focus our attention on concluding the construction of a composite, effective system of a permanent study of cadres, their political and professional training. The necessary proposals are in the making. At the same time, the school must be the foundation, the system of school facilities, which must be better integrated into practical life. It is also necessary to ensure the creation of more extensive opportunities for capable and talented workers to acquire the necessary education and promote them to higher positions.

In this context I would like to mention a momentous issue—the party's attitude toward the younger generation and its assertion. The current stage of revolutionary transformations is opening up new, and great opportunities for our young people. The program of restructuring and democratization is both familiar and comprehensible to the younger generation. It is in line with this generation's sense of the new, with its interest in the development of science and technology, its sense of social justice, its healthy ambitions, and also its longing for assertion in work and the society.

The younger generation is a significant social force, and we are fully counting and relying on it in accomplishing the weighty tasks of restructuring and democratization. The party regards all training for life and work in the socialist society as a most important task. The scope for our young people's assertion must be enlarged in all areas. We should show greater courage in raising young people with good training into leading positions in all spheres of the society's life. And it is in its own interests that the young generation should conscientiously conduct its studies and prepare itself to fulfill the present and future tasks.

Far more resolute steps must be taken to train the executive cadres for our economic sphere. In line with the adopted resolution, we must speedily finish work on the entire training system for these cadres, with the assistance of our best teachers and of prominent party, state, economic, and scientific staff. In keeping with the accelerated development of knowledge in all fields of human activity, it must be set up as a system of constant, lifelong training of cadres.

As for party cadres, in order to improve the standards of their training, we must consistently and fully implement in practice the concept of restructuring the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics (recently

discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium), and also the concept of restructuring all other party educational facilities, so that they can train cadres to have a broad political outlook and who are capable of creatively implementing the party line under the new conditions.

It is also necessary to mention another problem: In line with the principles which are still valid, our party agencies are working according to an established nomenklatura [Russian term used] approval system, which has become obsolete in many respects; in view of the highly centralized decisionmaking, it has also become very formal. That is why the Presidium has resolved to work out a new cadre roster which it will submit to the Central Committee.

What can one say in conclusion about the party's cadre policy? First, that we highly esteem all cadres working in the sectors entrusted to them in a well-informed and responsible manner, with a sense of new thinking and new approaches. They deserve to be recognized by our whole society. Nevertheless, we must not overlook the fact that certain cadres are no longer keeping in step with the demands of our times. It is therefore our main and unpostponable task to evaluate, objectively and critically, the placement of cadres and on this basis to carry out essential cadre changes which would raise the party's authority, enhance its leading role, rejuvenate cadres in all sectors, and substantially raise their efficiency.

At the same time it is necessary to carry out the democratization of all cadre work. That is why we regard the eligibility of leading staff and the use of the possibility of voting by secret ballot, of making selections from a larger number of candidates, and of filling posts on the basis of applications, and also the duty of senior staff to render accounts not only to appropriate agencies, but also to working collectives and voters, as an important component of the party's efforts to develop socialist democracy throughout our society.

We expect those men and women comrades to be elected to the new district and regional committees who had won trust by their work and who show a responsible approach to the implementation of the party's policy. Side by side with electing well-proven, experienced comrades to party agencies, it will be right to elect an increased number of young people, since we cannot be satisfied with the present representation in these agencies. Likewise, it would be desirable to increase in district and regional committees and in their presidiums the percentage of workers and other people working in material production, and also women.

Likewise, the tasks of restructuring make it necessary to appraise certain other matters that are being discussed in the party and society, and which are the result of the fact that the stability of cadres has become so widespread and firmly rooted that this has led to rigidity, complacency, a weakening of the collective spirit, and sometimes even the overlooking of negative phenomena and a lowering of demands placed on one's colleagues. At the same time the purposeful training of new, able officials has been neglected.

It will be expedient to establish the principle that the offices of CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party may be held for a maximum of two consecutive terms of office (i.e. 10 years). As for the leading secretaries of regional and district party committees, it will be expedient to specify that they can hold these functions for a maximum of three consecutive terms of office in the same agency. At the same time, a healthy exchange of officials should be consistently seen to in elections to all party agencies. It will be right to anchor this principle in the party statutes; but it is both possible and necessary to proceed according to it even now. Similarly, it will also be necessary to consider expediently exchanging cadres in certain other sectors, outside the party. We must also see to it that functions are not accumulated in top positions, and that other leading staff are not overburdened with functions, either.

There are many discussions about elections by secret ballot. The party statutes provide both for voting by secret ballot, and for open voting. The Communists in every party organization and party agency should decide which election method to use. As for this year's district and regional conferences, we maintain the view that it would be right to make broader use of secret balloting in elections to the district and regional party agencies than was the case at annual member meetings.

Comrades, at our session we have considered it necessary to critically direct attention primarily toward matters that are important for raising the state of preparation of all links of the party to implement the line of acceleration, restructuring, and democratization. We have proceeded thus in the awareness of the party's responsibility for the further advancement of our society, and in the conviction that the Communist Party has the necessary strength and prerequisites for heading the restructuring and for meeting the demands of our times.

We want to reaffirm today that our decision to carry restructuring through to its end, and to implement it consistently and in all areas, is irreversible. There is no alternative to this course if the great opportunities and advantages provided by socialism are to be fully developed and asserted. We have favorable international-political conditions for this; we are pursuing the same goals and taking the same path as the CPSU, we are relying on the alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The immediate thing to do is to fully comply with the high demands (which we have been discussing at today's session) also in the deliberations and conclusions to be adopted at the coming district and regional conferences.

We expect the district and regional conferences to consider the problems that are weighing us down in a businesslike, critical, and most responsible manner, to contribute toward activating intraparty life, and to help concentrate the creative potential of the party and the whole society on dealing with the tasks of restructuring.

The conferences will have accomplished their task if the Communists in every region and district come to realize that they must cope with the shortcomings most resolutely and in every area, if they clarify their ideas on how to tackle the new tasks efficiently and win over the working people for the accomplishment of these tasks.

In pursuing the bold goals of restructuring and democratization in our society's life, we are relying on the support of the workers class and on its experience and revolutionary spirit. We are also relying on the support and mature character of the cooperative farmers. Moreover, we are convinced that our intelligentsia will also contribute toward the successful accomplishment of all the tasks by its committed creative activity.

The party's strength lies in its unity, in its close ties with the people. Today this is more valid than ever. We will follow this Leninist principle consistently, acting in its spirit. Herein lies the guarantee of success—the certainty that the line of the 17th congress will be implemented, and that the CSSR will make a dignified contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress.

Jakes Leaves for Working Visit to Bulgaria
LD200818 Prague CTK in English
0638 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes left today for Bulgaria on a friendly working visit at the invitation of Bulgarian Communist Party General Secretary and State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov.

Milos Jakes was seen off at the airport by Vasil Bilak, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, head of a party Central Committee Department Jaroslav Molek, and Czechoslovak Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar.

This is the first visit to Bulgaria of Milos Jakes in the function of Czechoslovak Communist Party general secretary. It follows up the latest visit of Todor Zhivkov to Czechoslovakia in 1979 and the 1982 visit to Bulgaria of Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak. On the latter occasion, the two countries signed a document on their economic and scientific-technological cooperation after 1985 which creates prerequisites for the further promotion of bilateral relations.

Milos Jakes is paying a friendly working visit to a country whose citizens highly appreciate his proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighborly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states. He comes to Bulgaria in the year of the 20th anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance which has been the basis of dynamic development of the two countries' relations.

Bulgaria has been for several decades ranking among Czechoslovakia's most important economic and trade partners. Last year, Bulgaria accounted for 3.3 per cent of the foreign trade turnover of Czechoslovakia and trade between the two countries was worth 1,075 million roubles, i.e. 7.2 per cent more than in 1986. The engineering and electrical engineering industries have the decisive share in the development of their economic cooperation, and cooperation and specialization in production plays an ever bigger role.

Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations in science and culture have been constantly promoted in the past decade on the basis of a relevant agreement of 1978. Tourism plays an important role, some 330,000 Czechoslovak citizens visit Bulgaria every year and the number of tourists going the other way is on the rise.

Assembly Approves Missile Inspection Agreements
LD191507 Prague CTK in English
1420 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today approved three documents of international character and significance.

The deputies approved an agreement between Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic linked to the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of their medium- and shorter-range missiles signed last year. At the same time they approved an agreement resulting from the exchange of notes between Czechoslovakia and the United States on inspections on Czechoslovak territory on December 18, 1987 and January 4, 1988.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, who presented the government proposal for approval of the two documents, stressed that it is for the first time in history that the deputies of Czechoslovakia's supreme legislative assembly discuss documents of this kind. He recalled that representatives of the Czechoslovak Assembly participated in the debate about the U.S.-Soviet treaty in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The Soviet Union with its innovating approach, new view of the present antagonistic but at the same time mutually linked world, contributed in a decisive way to the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty in Washington last year, Bohuslav Chnoupek said emphasizing that the

treaty is the first concrete result of the new political thinking in the sphere of disarmament. The two documents approved by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today confirm the peace orientation of the country's foreign policy, its concrete contribution to the process of strengthening the positive tendencies in the present international relations, Bohuslav Chnoupek said and added that the documents will come into effect simultaneously with the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

At the close of its session today the Federal Assembly expressed consent with the convention against torture, signed by Czechoslovakia at the United Nations headquarters in September 1986.

House of the People rapporteur Frantisek Vymetal, general vicar of the Olomouc Archdiocese and dean of the Cyril and Methodius Theological Faculty at Litomerice, said that Czechoslovakia "contributes to the struggle against flagrant and serious human rights violations about which the Czechoslovak public learn especially from countries where fascist and racist regimes still survive. He voiced the conviction that the document will become an important instrument in strengthening general respect for human rights and man's health and dignity.

Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said in an expose that tortures and inhuman treatment still occur despite the U.N. effort and these inhuman practices have reached monstrous dimensions especially in South Africa. Israeli authorities also do not hesitate to use violence and degrading treatment especially against persons protesting against the aggressive policy of Israel and its acts of international terrorism. Systematic torture of antifascists in Chile and the licence of the authorities in Northern Ireland are but some of the examples, the minister said.

Czechoslovakia is a party to all major international agreements on human rights. Last year it ratified the international convention against apartheid in sport and the international convention against the taking of hostages. By endorsing the document against torture Czechoslovakia expresses consistent support for the respect of human rights and basic freedoms as well as the resolve to constructively cooperate in this field, the foreign minister said.

Chnoupek Discusses Agreements

LD192033 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, and Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, today attended a joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations. [passage omitted]

The deputies discussed and approved two agreements: A tripartite agreement between Czechoslovakia, the USSR, and GDR on inspections that is linked to the agreement between the USSR and the United States on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and on the agreement between Czechoslovakia and the United States on inspecting Soviet military establishments on our territory.

Foreign minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said this about the agreements:

[Begin Chnoupek recording] The two proposed documents represent a specific example of implementing the foreign political guideline of the 17th CPCZ Congress. They represent an active part by our country in the joint effort of the socialist states for a world without nuclear weapons and without violence. Each of the two documents is independent, although they are closely connected with one another. They will become valid concurrently with the Soviet-U.S. treaty. They will be applied during the implementation of inspections on our territory, in harmony with the Washington treaty and the protocol from it. I should like to stress that the inspections on our territory, just as on the territory of eight European countries, constitute a part of absolutely unprecedented, until recently inconcievable, verification measures, which are stipulated by the Washington treaty. The appeal of the times, however, asks for new nonstandard procedures and measures. Inspections represent one of these such measures. [end recording] [passage omitted]

GDR, CSSR Envoys' Arms Ban Proposal to FRG

LD192019 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Bonn, 19 Apr (ADN)—On behalf of their governments, Ewald Moldt, head of the GDR's permanent mission to the FRG, and the CSSR ambassador to the FRG submitted a proposal to the FRG Government today at the start of official negotiations on freeing, or keeping free, the territories of the three states of chemical weapons. They explained the development of the offer of negotiation presented in May 1986, which was linked with this step, to Ambassador Dr Josef Holik, the Federal Government representative for questions of disarmament and arms control.

The GDR and CSSR representatives stressed that it would be a timely move to apply the treaty elements adopted at the Geneva disarmament conference for a global elimination of chemical weapons, including above all for control, in central Europe in advance.

In view of the present impasse in the work of the Geneva disarmament conference, a step of this nature could help overcome difficulties and bring closer a global ban, to which the FRG Government is also committed. This is, at the same time, a specific offer by the GDR and the CSSR to the FRG to work together so as not to allow a break in the disarmament process. Ambassador Holik agreed to pass on the proposal to the FRG Government.

Leuschner on Arms Reduction Talks in Vienna

DW191330 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1520 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Guenter Leuschner commentary]

[Excerpts] It is not only experts who have unpleasant memories of the disastrous effects of the so-called data discussion at the Vienna talks on force reduction in central Europe. What is meant by data discussion is the quarrel over the numbers both sides produced on the current strength of their troops. Whether or not the differences of opinion were real, or whether they were but a welcome pretext for one of the negotiating sides is an open question. In any case, it was an issue that through many years prevented any successful outcome of the negotiations. It is obvious that we may not allow the same problem to arise again in the talks on Europe-wide troops and arms reductions. The danger of that obstacle coming up has again abated somewhat, owing to the shift in priorities we have seen in the meantime. What has become more important than the present weapons stocks of either East or West is the potential both sides will be allowed to keep as a result of the negotiations. The existence of so-called asymmetries in various military fields is no longer denied and the principle that more weapons should mean more disarmament for either side is now being met with mutual acceptance.

Despite all that there is no way to escape an objective comparison of forces and the exchange of facts and figures it requires. And that is where the Warsaw Pact countries would like to see a less time-consuming procedure. [passage omitted]

We urge that all facts and figures for a comparison of forces be supplied at the very beginning of the talks and we have good reason to do so. The advantage of supplying official data in advance is that it could no longer be altered in the course of the negotiations. Such a procedure would render discussions more objective and would force the West to do without the highly unrealistic numbers that are, if anything, used to mislead the public.

A second advantage would be the chance for experts to compare their own estimates with the other side's data and even settle whatever problems may arise before negotiations actually start. We could thus spot existing asymmetries early and deal with the problem of their removal from the very outset of the negotiations. It would, in other words, be an enormous gain in time.

As the Vienna conference is behind schedule and possibly aggravates setting a date for a European disarmament conference, we might thus be in a position to compensate for some of the time that has been lost. The idea seems to be so reasonable that the NATO countries ought to be equally interested in a faster data exchange.

It is all the more surprising, therefore, that our appeal has gone unanswered. The idea was not exactly met with a great deal of enthusiasm on the part of the Americans, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said after his meeting with Shultz. In Vienna, too, the West has so far failed to come forward with any response to our proposal. We are wondering what may be the reason for them to act so hesitatingly.

USSR Premier Ryzhkov Continues Visit

Visits Budapest Memorials

LD181837 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 18 (MTI)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, Soviet premier, laid a wreath on the memorial of the Hungarian heroes at the Heroes' Square with military honours Monday afternoon. He laid a wreath to the Lenin statue on the Dozsa Gyorgy Road and the statue of Soviet heroes on the Szabadsag Square. The Soviet leader was accompanied by Pal Ivanyi, president of the Budapest Metropolitan Council.

On his way back to his residence the Soviet premier made a short stopover in the castle district and viewed the panorama of Budapest from the fishermen's bastion.

The negotiations between the heads of governments, Karoly Grosz and Nikolay Ryzhkov, which started in the morning, continued in the afternoon at the residence of the Soviet guest with limited attendance.

Attends Dinner With Grosz

LD182226 Budapest MTI in English 2138 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 18 (MTI)—In the evening Karoly Grosz gave a gala dinner in honour of Nikolay Ryzhkov and his wife at the Hunter's Hall of the parliament. At the dinner the Hungarian and Soviet premiers held toasts.

Karoly Grosz, on behalf of the HSWP Central Committee and the Hungarian Government, greeted Nikolay Ryzhkov, his wife and the other guests.

Karoly Grosz told that the present visit is in all respects of outstanding importance and a major stage in the implementation at government level of the agreements reached at the meetings of Janos Kadar and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Analysing the Hungarian-Soviet relations, Karoly Grosz concluded that open friendship with the Soviet Union and cooperation based on equal rights and reciprocal interests are considered one of our greatest, historic achievements that fit functionally into our ideas on the future.

Our trade and economic relations and scientific and technical links are of basic importance. We pay special attention to the balanced development of commodity trade and balance of payments between the two countries, the continuous upgrading of cooperation, and the increase of the importance of company-level integration. All these make it also necessary to adjust our organizational, financial, price and other conditions to the present requirements.

In the implementation of our stabilization and advancement programme, in the transformation of the economic structure, and in the development of the progressive branches we hope to rely to a great extent on the already established and continuously developing economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, Karoly Grosz said.

'It is our priority duty to deepen, advance and improve the efficiency of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation in the fields of culture, education and arts as well as among the republics, countries and towns. We support cooperation along the border, and the object contact of citizens.'

Speaking on the negotiations Karoly Grosz said: It was repeatedly reassured that in the future, too, we strive for strengthening our relations [word indistinct] confidence and understanding. We came mutually to the conclusion that further persistent search and newer and newer initiatives are needed. In those issues for which we are unable to find a satisfactory solution today, we have to give the answer with joint effort.

'The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party prepares for a national conference. We face decisions which influence the future of the country. In this responsible work the moral and political support of the Soviet Union, the interest and sympathy of the Soviet people provide a great strength—said Karoly Grosz.

Speaking on the situation and (?tasks) of the country, he said: The economy, whose development slowed down, should be upgraded and dynamized. By gradually decreasing the state debts piled up in one and a half decades, the strains and contradictions of the economic and social life should be loosened. However, regarding the future we are optimistic, because our socialist social order has solid foundations. Relying on the creative forces of our working people, with the leadership of the party the conditions could be provided for the efficient and advanced functioning of our socialist system.

It became clear that the desired results could only be achieved in our social-economic construction work if we adapt, in due time and flexibly, to the rapidly changing international and domestic conditions and search consistently and with determination for socialist purposeful solutions that are appropriate under our features and conditions. The next steps of the economic reform should be implemented with coordination, in a programme-like manner, with the continuously coordinated renewal of the economic mechanism and the economic policy, in a more consistent way than previously.

Karoly Grosz stressed that we consider it very important to make everybody understand the real situation of the country, have the set goals accepted, and mobilize the creative forces of the whole society in order to establish the conditions for a more sweeping development and the preservation and augmentation of our socialist values. There have been and there are still people who are not interested in the successes of our renewal efforts. They

make our tasks, which are otherwise not easy, more difficult. Despite this, we do believe that with the support of the progressive forces of our people we will realize our plans.

Praising the renewal process emerging in the Soviet Union Karoly Grosz concluded that this provides favourable external conditions to the fulfilment of our great national goals. Our party and people follow with a distinguished attention and support the perestroika, which became in a short time a notion of global political importance, expressing the renewal of socialism and the general social progress.

The essential similarity of the tasks which face our countries makes us mutually interested in each others' results and successes—as he emphasized. It is our firm conviction: As we wholeheartedly wish on the Hungarian side that the policy of perestroika and openness reach as soon as possible and as great as possible results in the Soviet Union, so for our Soviet friends, the success of our reform policy is not indifferent.

It is a great pleasure for us that the renewed policy of the Soviet Union opens new horizons for the radical transformation of the international relations for the augmentation of the socialism's international respect. We value highly and support unambigously the foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening peace and security, arms reduction and disarmament. The Soviet-American agreement on the medium and shorter range missiles is of historical importance which strengthens international confidence and stimulates the continuation of the disarmament process. We would consider it as inadmissible that at the time when in some fields disarmament is achieved, a new arms race develops in other fields.

Mentioning the next Soviet-US summit Karoly Grosz expressed hope that new agreements are to be reached which promote the further improvement of the international and European atmosphere, the alleviation of the problems of our mutually dependent world.

'Hungary, in agreement with the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, consistently and responsibly continues its international activity for the implementation of the principles of the peaceful coexistence, the East-West dialogue and cooperation development and in the future it will participate with increased activity in the elaboration of the international initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty, by making an active use of its particular possibilities and means for its accomplishment—said Karoly Grosz, finally.

In his response Nikolay Ryzhkov explained: Our contacts are characterized by content, openness and creative work. The meetings of Mikhail Gorbachev and Janos Kadar are accomplished in this spirit, which stimulate our countries to elaborate new responses to the challenges of the age and to find, in a joined effort, responses to the questions of renewal which are still not resolved by the socialist practice.

Speaking on the questions related to the revolutionary transformation of the social life of the Soviet Union Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out: The renewal extends to the whole of our society. However, we avoid to lock ourselves into our own frames, we are ready to accept the general human results. For us it is especially valuable what our friends living in the socialist countries achieved in the development of the new society. We know, that Hungary took, not on a single occasion, a pioneer role in searching for unconventional solutions.

We highly value the support which is provided by the Hungarian public for the perestroika underway in the Soviet Union—as he said.

The extension of the contacts between the people, the simplification of mutual travels are all the reqirements of our age. The document which is to be signed during this visit opens new possibilities for visiting relatives, to travel for holidays and medical treatment and for the tourism of the young ones. The roads to deepening the integration processes should continously be searched, the exchange of experiences and the coordination of the foreign policy activities should be perfected.

Speaking on the Soviet-Hungarian economic links Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out: The advanced forms of cooperation are gaining ground. Industrial cooperation is getting stronger, the direct contacts between the manufacturer and scientific research collectives are extending, and the first joint ventures started to operate. We clearly see, however, the difficulties of our cooperation, which to a certain extent are unavoidable under the conditions of turning the economy into an intensive development path and during the transformation of the economic control and production structure. It is our mutual interest to renew and to put in order the cooperation between our countries. We do hope that our present negotiations permit to make another step in this direction.

There is no doubt, that not all problems could be solved by bilateral basis. The radical renewal of the activity of the council of mutual economic assistence is also needed. In this question we have the same opinion as our Hungarian friends.

It comes naturally, that our countries, together with other states of the socialist community, step up as initiators for the establishment of the new global system of international peace and security—said Nikolay Ryzhkov, emphasizing that the global community's common sense and collective efforts are needed to break away with the diabolic ring of confrontation and arms race, to break down the stereotypes of prejudices and hostility, to

establish civilized relations providing priority to general human values and international law. Both in domestic and international policy we side with humanism, law and order and democracy.

To each state, be it either big, medium sized or small, we propose that, in agreement with the ideas and aims of the United Nations, to participate in the transformation of the international relations. Against the concept of deterrence with nuclear and other arms, we show the fair concept of mutual respect and the balance of interests, which is understandable for everybody, we show glasnost, openness in the international affairs. This is the essence of a comprehensive security system, which should be implemented in all fields, be it disarmament, regional conflicts, world economy relations, environmental protection, human rights or the development of humanitarian cooperation.

We accept with understanding those initiatives of Hungary, which are aimed at the development of positive processes in the world including the European continent—said Nikolay Ryzhkov, and continued on the subject of the Vienna follow-up meeting. As he said—the Soviet delegation has precise orders, to take efforts together with the delegations of the socialist and other countries, in the interest of filling all the three Helsinki baskets, to deepen and develop the all-European dialogue and to bring the meeting to a constructive end.

The stance of principle of the Warsaw Treaty countries is: We have to end the division of Europe to confronting military blocks and as a first step the miliary organizations should be eliminated. As it was declared already by the Soviet side: We want to achieve the elimination of the military bases on foreign territories and the pulling back of the troops behind their own national borders.

Further on, Nikolay Ryzhkov highly praised that with Hungary there is a complete identity of views on international issues. In the Soviet Union the active role of Hungary in international affairs is greeted along with its substantial contribution to the coordinated foreign policy initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Speaking on the importance of the coming national party conference of the HSWP he expressed conviction that at the outstanding meeting optimal solutions are found which meet the requirements of the times and the Hungarian people.

Visits Agricultural Cooperative

LD192100 Budapest MTI in English 1953 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 19 (MTI)—As it was reported on Tuesday in the afternoon Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov visited the Sarisap 'New Life' agricultural co-operative in the company of Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade. The high-ranking guest was welcomed at the local cultural centre by Albert Antaloczi, party secretary of County Komarom, Gyula Varga, county council chairman, and Ferenc Szabo, state secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

Albert Antaloczi gave a short review on the life of the county with 300 thousand inhabitants and an advanced industry. Speaking on agriculture he emphasized that the 24 co-operatives and six state farms of the county are working under unfavourable conditions, but despite this fact the branch contributed 24,000 million forints to the national economy. Two thirds of the farms are engaged in industrial activities to top up the income of the employees and provide continuous employment for women.

Mihaly Farnadi, president of the co-operative, could also report on similar results: The 'New Life' cooperative, cultivating seven thousand hectares on the area of seven villages and a town, carries all the characteristics of the county. Beside basic agricultural production they have set up a food processing plant.

Responding to the question of the Soviet prime minister, local residents told that the mechanization of the conventional farm operations was accomplished in the co-operative and in the labour peaks of fruit picking the local industrial employees also provide help, and in addition, like in other regions of the country, the 'pick it for yourself' movement was also organized.

Following the reviews Nikolay Ryzhkov and his party visited the facilities to the animal production unit of 1,500 cattle, 22 swine and 200 thousand hens. As he was told by his hosts annually 300 million eggs are processed meeting almost completely the egg demand of the Hungarian pastry industry.

In the industrial assembly workshop the manufacturing of integrated circuits was shown to the guest. Beside the power supply units of the computers the recharging batteries for the "Sokol" radios, which are popular in Hungary, are also manufactured, here. Lot of people, mainly the miners' wives, find their living in the plastic processing unit where different die-cast products are manufactured.

As a final visit on the agenda, the Soviet premier visited the household plot of the cooperative's lorry driver, Mihaly Horvath.

Meets With Economic Officials

LD200828 Budapest MTI in English 0714 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Wednesday morning met with leading representatives of Hungarian technical, economic and social life, in the headquarters of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. More than 300 persons received invitations to

attend the joint programme of the Association of Scientific and Technical Organizations (MTESZ) and the chamber, including acting company managers and cooperative presidents. Seated in the Presidium of the conference were Prime Minister Karoly Grosz and Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade.

The guests were welcomed by Tamas Beck, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. In his opening speech he discussed several timely experiences of Hungarian-Soviet trade turnover. He stressed that Hungarian companies would like to export more to their Soviet partners, however, the lack of contra-items stands in the way. The forced supression of export reduces the efficiency of the chamber's member companies. Therefore, he termed it important that, cooperating with Soviet partners, Hungarian trade experts be able to carry out marketing activity in the Soviet Union, to explore the contra-items. This activity should not be limited to the capital, but should extend also to the republics.

The Hungarian chamber strives for the cooperation of Hungarian and Soviet companies on the basis of reciprocal interestedness, in a business spirit. In this interest Tamas Beck also submitted several concrete proposals.

The Soviet prime minister is to address the session, and several Hungarian company leaders will also be able to set forth their views.

Editorial on Bilateral Cooperation

AU191758 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Mutual Interests"]

[Text] In the person of Nikolay Ryzhkov, we welcome in Hungary the premier of restructuring and one of the representatives of the new Soviet political style. The talks that start in Budapest today will deal primarily with opportunities for developing Hungarian-Soviet economic and technical-scientific relations. At the same time, with this visit, the dialogue between the two premiers that started in July and continued in October, has entered a new phase.

The restructuring process underway in the Soviet Union, which is considered a radical reform of economic management and later of the economic structure, continues to include political and social practice to the extent that it has become certain that democratization is the necessary way of returning to the Leninist essence of socialism. This represents both a new style and new substance, and the first fruits have already emerged.

Restructuring, whose role is often considered revolutionary, was made inevitable by the fact that the sources of extensive economic development have been exhausted. Accelerated technical and scientific development is supposed to be the major source of intensive development. It is in the objective interest of the Soviet Union to foster any economic cooperation that can contribute to this intensive economic development. The Hungarian technological thinking is, no doubt, a factor that makes Hungary an attractive partner.

The Hungarian-Soviet turnover of goods makes up roughly one-third of our foreign trade turnover; in other words, the Soviet Union represents the largest market for our products and is a vital element in entire industrial branches; the opposite is also true, because Soviet exports ensure the very operation of many branches, for example, in power engineering.

Among the USSR's trade partners, Hungary is in fifth place. This means Hungary has a much bigger share of the Soviet cake than its international economic weight. On a world market free of limitations—and the recent Soviet-U.S. agreement provides a realistic opportunity for such a market to emerge in the future—our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union can assure an unprecedented driving force and opportunities of a breakthrough for us, but all this only if the currently emerging process of restructuring is implemented in both countries, and thus, this is indeed in the mutual interest of both sides. Thus, everything that seems to us to be quantity and points of contact can be a guarantee of quality for our partners.

Introducing new forms of cooperation and achieving maximum efficiency for our joint organization of international economic cooperation, CEMA, could promote and encourage this process. We believe that Nikolay Ryzhkov's talks in Budapest will provide new impetus to our economic cooperation.

Marjai, Horn, Berecz Meet USSR Ministers

LD192108 Budapest MTI in English 2004 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—On Tuesday Jozsef Marjai and Aleksey Antonov co-chairmen of the Hungarian-Soviet economic and technical-scientific cooperation commission at a separate meeting coordinated the factual tasks and measures which are required to achieve the shorter and longer term targets as they were determined at the negotiations of the prime ministers.

Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held negotiations with his partner, Anatoliy Kovalyov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. The actual issues of the international scene were reviewed and deep discussions were held on the possibilities of strengthening the European security and cooperation, the tasks related to the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. It was concluded that the cooperation of the two ministries fits into the system of the Hungarian-Soviet relations. In this respect the continuation and widening of the foreign policy consultations were considered as important.

Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry and Nikolay Pugin, minister of the auto industry discussed the contended issues related to the cooperation in the manufacturing of "Zaz" cars. Frigyes Berecz told to the correspondent of the MTI: In all of the four issues a compromise could be reached. According to the agreement the Hungarian party is not involved in the manufacturing of metal slabs for the chassis, because this operation would be financially inefficient due to the relatively low volumes. Instead, other products will be supplied. Agreement was reached on the countertrading of the Hungarian participation in the construction of the car manufacturing plant and the general barter issues were settled. The price principles were also set for the delivery of machine rigs in exchange for cars.

Istvan Kortvelyes, deputy minister of industry and Anatoliy Lukashov, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission discussed the foundation of a new joint venture by the "Alkaloida chemical factory" and the "Kiev chemical factory". The price issues which could not be resolved will be settled by experts till June and then the new venture could be launched

Preparations for National Party Conference

AU190953 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Apr 88 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Committed for Party Unity"]

[Text] Communists have been preparing for the national party conference scheduled to commence in May with critical, self-critical, and creative exchanges of views in recent weeks. The often mercilessly honest debates on defending our achievements, on our problems and mistakes, our tasks, and the courageous acceptance of economic and political renewal and of reform efforts are all imbued—both in a spoken and an unspoken way—with concern for the party's unity and the desire to safeguard and strengthen its unity.

The need to safeguard, strengthen, and if you like, recreate this unity is proven by the historical experience according to which a revolutionary party is able to lead the activity aimed at bringing about radical economic reform and further development of the system of political institutions, as well as the democratic renewal of society, only if the party in question has ideological-political and organizational unity, and unity of action. We are living in times of reform, in a period of revolutionary changes when we are openly facing reality and our possibilities force the Communists to reconsider and reevaluate, and even renew their entire activity carried out so far. No party member or party organization can avoid this, all the more so because the party itself has been and continues to be the initiator of these changes and renewal. Voluntary Choice [subhead]

Just as any other radical change—especially if it occurs in an economic and political situation which is full of problems—the current renewal carries the danger that, in the process of seeking solutions, some Communists might lose faith or even confront the essential principles of party policy. This should be avoided, and in explaining the consequences of such cases, it might do no harm, on the contrary, it is desirable, to remind party members of the valid norms concerning their rights and obligations, although all these norms are well-known and thus, dealing with them might seem superfluous.

The debates in party meetings of both past and present prove that everyone has the opportunity, and even the obligation, not only to express his opinions but also to test his opinions in a debate with the fundamental principles of the party's policy of renewal, and to judge whether he can accept those principles. Membership in the party is voluntary and anyone who feels that he cannot identify with its principles and is unable to take it upon himself to work accordingly, can leave the party without any living or moral consequences. During the recent debates prior to the change of membership cards 40,796 people decided to leave the party, while 1,341 people left the party on the basis of recommendations.

Patience in Debates [subhead]

Although party members are currently debating over the draft position of the national party conference, the meetings prove that the elements of the draft concerning the need to consider and deal with minority opinions and proposals are already becoming general practice. This also proves that the need to develop democracy within the party can be implemented by the practice that the draft formulates as follows: "Patient political debate must be made general practice in management organs and basic party organizations."

However, one should not and must not abuse patience. Nor should anyone abuse the continuous reawakening of debates, because this only hinders actions. However, one should not abuse something that is even more dangerous than the latter, namely that some party members take their counter-opinions and opinions that differ from the position of the majority outside the party, and even express them at various public forums that also voice views which oppose party policy. In this case, the party statute clearly states with a firmness characteristic of a revolutionary party based on the principle of democratic centralism that "if a party member has an opposing opinion, he can express it at the party meeting or at a higher party echelon, but he is compelled to represent and carry out a decision even if he does not agree with it."

While enriching it in this respect, the draft position of the national party conference clearly confirms this practice. It is particularly worth drawing attention to this all the more so because today, when many things are undergoing reevaluation and renewal and when the number of various public organizations and associations based on a community of interests is increasing daily, the Communists' tasks are more complex and they also have

increased responsibility. On the one hand, they are expected to take a stand more often and in more places; on the other hand, they must be firmly committed and well-trained to deal with the problems, to take a responsible stand and accept confrontation with views that are unacceptable to us, amidst a multitude of opinions that naturally increase in number as a result of an increase in democracy.

Representing and Implementing [subhead]

It can also happen that the Communist himself feels doubt, or sympathizes with some doubtful views. In such cases, we must always start from the premise that we have long since passed the period when someone was accused, punished, or even expelled from the party for his different views without previous debate. Today, the party forums are open and patient, and nobody should fear punishment for his views. Every party member has the possibility to express his opinions and submit them for debate at these forums. However, following the majority of positions that emerge after a patient political debate, the party member should regard his own position as a personal opinion, even if the majority failed to convince him, and he must refrain from publicly voicing this opinion anywhere else, and as long as there is no other position, the party members must represent and implement the decision in force. Let us honestly admit that this can cause considerable indecision for the party member in question.

Therefore, the party considers it desirable and even necessary for the development of democracy within the party to keep up with the strengthening of democracy in society and in public activity. The open debates within the party increase the knowledge of party members, widen their horizon, and prepare them to defend and represent the party position outside the party. The draft position of the party conference also contributes to this when it states that "at the meeting of the party organ in charge of making decisions, the party members who submit proposals must inform the body about minority opinions," and, moreover, the representatives of these minority opinions "have the right to ask, within the party, to change the previous position."

It can also occur that, as a result of a misunderstanding or unpreparedness, some party members are influenced by views that oppose party policy. In such cases, the possibility of a patient political debate can protect the Communist from taking a hasty stand because he has no reason to hide his uncertainty and doubts from his party organization. In fact, the party organizations are obliged to engage in an open and patient political debate.

Limits of Tolerance [subhead]

It did not come as a surprise, it was even expected, that at times of major social reorganization and reform like the present, and in a difficult economic situation, opposing views and views that contradict our socialist principles would surface openly or less than openly. We can, and even should, argue with such opinions, all the more so because today, the party is striving for a wide consensus among all honest and goodwilled strata and members of society in accelerating the reform process and in renewing the system of political institutions. No Communist party committed to renewal can tolerate, however, that on the pretext of freedom of opinion and the right of association, some of its members should participate in forums of various groupings that express views that oppose the party and the regime, or tolerate and even agree with anti-socialist manifestations there. This is nothing but a stand taken by a party member against his own party, an act that harms the party, the reform process, and national collaboration.

In such cases—following repeated warnings or party punishment—we can hardly delay action by claiming tolerance. The person in question must choose either to accept and adhere to the requirements inherent in party membership or volunteer to leave the party. If he does not choose either of these possibilities in spite of offers in this respect, and if he continues to participate in anti-party and anti-socialist manifestations in such events and meetings, and if he continues to propagate his views orally and in writing, then the responsible organs of the party can do nothing else but apply the most severe punishment: expulsion from the party.

Reorganization of the party occurred in a difficult period on the basis of Leninist norms. We continue to live and work according to these norms today, by further expanding the democratic framework within the party in harmony with the enriched principles of democratic centralism. We have repeatedly mentioned the historically confirmed lesson—and we see that the debates currently underway in the party and the ideological and emotional commitment of the party members have again proved it—that the party fulfilled its leading role and the communists were able to give their utmost when their actions were directed by their responsibility for the fate of the country and of the nation, and their actions were imbued by acceptance of responsibility and an ideological and political unity deriving from democratic debates. The draft position of the party conference confirms this commitment when it says that "the party is determined to fulfill its historical mission to develop Hungarian society."

Jaruzelski, Messner Attend Sejm Session
LD200857 Warsaw PAP in English
0835 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 20: The Polish Sejm (parliament) has started its debate this morning which is expected to continue for two days. Present are Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner.

The first item on the agenda concerns the problems of people's councils. Speaking on behalf of the council of state Deputy Kazimierz Secomski (no party affiliation) focused on the proposals included in the draft laws on changes in the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government.

The drafts will be used for further improvement of the system of functioning of local councils in the coming term, will enrich the present electoral campaign which follows the new political guidelines and amended electoral law.

Warsaw Reviews Public Opinion of National Debt
LD181224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Stanislaw Prygon commentary]

[Text] At the moment, Poland's debt amounts to around $40 billion. For some, the very sum itself is beyond imagination, and to assess the size of the debt they divide it by each Pole. The question remains, however, of whether, by comparison with other countries, our debt is great or small.

It transpires from latest pronouncements of the Center for Public Opinion Research that, in the opinion of Poles, our debt is large and even exceptionally large. Almost three-quarters of those questioned are of this opinion. Every fifth Pole thinks that the debt is considerable, although smaller than in many other states. It can, therefore, be said, that social opinions on the level of the Polish debt are not unduly catastrophic, although, after all, it is difficult to speak here of an optimism whatsoever, particularly if we take into account the fact that, every year, we repay $2-3 billion and these are only interest repayments.

The clear majority of those surveyed thinks that repayment of the debt is a very big burden on the Polish economy. That is why the chances of repaying the entire Polish debt is quite pessimistically assessed. As many as 57 percent of those surveyed doubt that we will ever pay off our debts. However, 26 percent think this will be achieved within several dozen years.

And what are the causes of this? Above all, the bad work of many people, to which is connected low productivity and mistakes in economic management. Only 24 percent of those surveyed believe that the western states make more difficult the repayment of our debts. The growing debt is not only a problem for our country, but also a world problem, and the size of this debt is making the realization ever clearer that this is a problem not only of the debtors but also of the creditors.

Maciszewski Views Negative USSR Relations
AU191141 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA SEJM DIARY in Polish Mar 88 p 6

[Speech by Sejm Deputy Jarema Maciszewski, chairman of the Polish side of the Polish-Soviet historical commission for investigating recent joint history, at the 10 March Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] Citizen Marshal! May it please the House! For many years now it has been my custom to present a selection of thoughts and observations from this rostrum during debates on Polish foreign policy. Today I would like to deal with a different set of problems.

I do not think I will diverge from the House's interests by presenting at least some aspects of the work, I do not hesitate to call it difficult, exhaustive, and enormous work, performed and developed jointly by Polish and Soviet historians on unveiling, explaining, and reinterpreting all aspects of Polish-Soviet relations without exception, as well as, to a greater or lesser extent, Polish-Russian, Polish-Ukrainian, Polish-Belorussian, and Polish-Lithuanian relations. This of course applies to recent and earlier history. The extent of ignorance, silence, and even untruthfulness is wide. It comes as no surprise that these are accompanied on both sides of the border by emotion which is frequently forgotten. History and the course of events cannot be altered. But we must know how to overcome history, overcome those parts of it that are evil and tragic, overcome them for the sake of the present and future, for the sake of an understanding that what was evil in the past harmed the interests of the peoples and states that are friendly today, for the sake of a development of friendship.

This painstaking research work should cause neither a settlement of old scores nor a catalog of grievances and harm. Neither should this work merely involve the evil and tragic aspects of history. After all, the many centuries of proximity to our eastern neighbor have also been full of beautiful episodes which form the roots of our friendship today.

Every issue must be illuminated in full. I emphasize "every" and "full." Deputy Bender called for political decisions. And yet, may it please the House, it is thanks to such decisions by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev that we have been able to undertake intensive work on such a broad scale and that at last the climate created by the Soviet perestroyka and our own socialist renewal has permitted the publication of many Polish and Soviet books and articles about the past. Of course this is not just the result of work by journalists

and historians. It is also the result of political decisions. It is the result of the declaration signed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev on 21 April 1987.

One hears appeals for haste frequently and everywhere. This haste is indeed necessary, very necessary. Together with Academician Smirnov, chairman of the Soviet side of the commission, we have publicly discussed the commission's efforts in this sphere before the cameras of Polish Television and in the columns of TRYBUNA LUDU. The commission is working very hard. So far, it has held two plenary meetings in a broad composition and two working meetings in a narrower composition. The catalog of topics being examined by the commission is much more extensive than that called for by Deputy Bender from this rostrum.

We have decided not to delve into the more distant past for the time being, although that part of the past also contains problems which require, if not explanation, then at least more painstaking analysis and fuller publicity. We have started from 1917. The first problems team is dealing with the period 1917-1921. The fruit of its work will be in the form of an academic volume by Polish and Soviet historians, the preparation of which involves the use of new historical sources. This book will also cover everything connected with the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 and its causes and effects.

Another group of topics in which we have progressed very far—or perhaps I will be more cautious and say far—is the tragedy of the Polish Communists at the end of the thirties in connection with the dissolution of the Polish Communist Party in August 1938 and the persecution and tragic death of many Polish Communist Party leaders in 1937-38 and earlier.

We are close to solving a series of matters connected with the eve of 1938-9, including the Soviet-German pact of 23 August 1939 and other pacts concluded on 28 September of that year. At this point, may it please the House, I would have to deliver a lecture on history to present to the House all the issues in detail. I believe that exhaustive joint material on the events of 1938 and 1939 will soon be published.

I wish to stress that before the results of the commission are published, we already have authoritative and competent statements by the chairman of the Soviet side of the commission about the nature of the 1939 war as viewed from the Polish side, regarded from the very beginning as a just and defensive war, with all its implications and consequences. We hold critical views, still unpublicized, about the Comintern's stance and attitudes during the first months of the war. Finally, we have an exceedingly important statement which not only admits to Vyacheslav Molotov's inadmissible and insulting pronouncements vis-a-vis the Polish people in the fall of 1939, but also clearly states, leaving no doubts, that the view that the Polish nation had ceased to exist was untruthful, harmful, and insulting to the Polish people. As we can see, the commission is making progress in these matters.

Another group of topics concerns the displacement of the Polish population to the Soviet Union in 1939-41 and its fate.

I do not use the word "displacement" to avoid the terms "deportation" and "removal," well-worn expressions which often give rise to speculation. I use the word "displacement" because this was a complicated process involving five or six streams of migration by the Polish population, including deportations. And the deportations, too, have to be divided into two groups if we want to analyze them accurately, namely: deportations whereby one's personal freedom was retained at one's destination, and deportations to camps and prisons on the territory of the Soviet Union.

I have spoken about this more thoroughly to indicate that the commission's scientific task in this connection must produce a scientific classification of individual features, which should be defined most accurately. The fate of officers, noncommissioned officers, and the men of the Polish Armed Forces who were interned on 17 September was different. Let me stress that the term now used is internee and not prisoner of war. The fate of those arrested and taken away was different from that of deported people and still more different from the fate who were evacuated before and during the Soviet-German war and from the tragedies in Luck, Lvov, and so on. Honorable House, it is important that we are looking at these issues in a profound and uninhibited manner.

We must also examine the great issue of transfers and deportations connected with the Home Army problems in 1944-45. In connection with this problem, which must be thoroughly examined, it is necessary not only to indicate the course of events, but also to demonstrate that there were the forgotten and little known facts of the fine combat cooperation between the Home Army and the Peasant Battalions, on the one hand, and the Soviet Army, on the other. We want to fill in all the blank spots, including those in which our friendship is rooted. I stress this once again.

Honorable House, I could go on for a long time listing the subjects tackled by the commission. We are trying to tackle them comprehensively. For example, a great problem submitted by the Soviet side is the fate of prisoners of war—former Soviet soldiers—who were captured by the Germans in Poland, the Polish population's help for these prisoners, their share in the combat waged by Polish and Soviet partisans, and so on. Again, I could say much about this subject, but this is no place for me to lecture on history.

So far, the Soviet side has supplied us with 106,000 microfilms of new archival documents, which means that the political decision to open up archives has been made.

It is our obligation to approach everything in a scientific way and to view sources critically. I stress that we do not close our eyes to any problem. This is a complicated and difficult truth, one that continues to make headway.

Deputy Bender quoted a Soviet historian's words about the Katyn tragedy. I am not envious of anyone's statement, but no Polish or Soviet historian on the commission ignores this word, one of the most tragic. This symbolizes only a part of the problem, which is more extensive, professor, than the Katyn case. As extensively written in the generally accessible publications, the name of the problem is: the fate of the officers, noncommissioned officers, and men interned after 1939. The problem is especially the fate of the men interned in three camps—in Kozelsk I (please do not confuse it with Kozelsk II camp, in which all officers survived), in Starobelsk, and in Ostashkov.

That word has been often mentioned during the discussion of those difficult and tragic problems. It had been mentioned all at once by Polish Television even before our commission began its work. It was mentioned a few days ago in my interview for the PZPR organ TRYBUNA LUDU, in POLITYKA, and so on. This means that the word in question is not a forbidden word.

Scientific accuracy is especially needed in this case, as in any other case, because some semi-truths must not be substituted for other semi-truths. This is not a case in which one is allowed to publicly employ hypotheses. The case is so tragic that the examination of archives must be extremely thorough and accurate. Honorable House, I have studied some archives that are still unavailable to public scrutiny, but the time will come for them to be published.

However, we must realize that resentment continues to exist on either side, and that resentment on the other side is also justified. As a Pole I regret to have to say that at the most recent meeting of the commission I handed over to the Soviet chairman a list of the Soviet officers and men who lost their lives in Poland by Polish hands. They did not lose their lives in accidental or intentional clashes while attempting, say, to disarm partisan units somewhere in Lublin territory or farther in the east. They lost their lives in Miechow, Kielce, and even newly recovered territories. This list is long, but if we want to discover the truth we must uncover all of it.

Two more aspects of the problem. While doing our work in the commission, we want to improve the condition, care, and propagation of the Polish monuments in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, and in the regions beyond the Urals. Considerable progress has been made in this regard, especially in the Ukraine, and this bodes well for further intensive measures. On the other hand, the Soviet comrades have asked us, among other things, to dedicate a monument to the memory of about 1 million Soviet citizens who died on our soil at the hands of the Hitlerites.

One more aspect of the problem, the last one. The subject I am discussing in, I stress, a cursory and superficial manner continues to be given unceasing attention by the emigre press and by the Polish-language radio stations abroad. It continues to be sensationalized. It is being used as a weapon in the political struggle and attempts are being made to give it one-sided and inaccurate publicity. This does not help us to establish the truth. It introduces a political motive and the atmosphere of acrimony. Things have reached such a state that critical explanations of individual sentences and words and various suppositions and hypotheses continue to be made. But the issue requires no sensation and no front-page headlines. Our task is to establish the whole truth and to remove those thorns that are still embedded in the awareness of the fraternal peoples who are now our friends. What we have to do, having explained the entire good and bad heritage of the past, is to gain the conviction that all our work will be of service to the future and that bad history will remain only history and a warning for the future. I thank you for your attention and apologize if I have tried the patience of this Honorable House too much.

USSR's Akhromeyev Addresses Troops

AU181236 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16-17 Apr 88 pp 1, 2

[Lieutenant-Colonel Andrzej Fryszkiewicz report on speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, at the headquarters of the 1st "Praga" Mechanized Regiment on 15 April]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on Polish-Soviet comradeship during the October Revolution and World War II] In his speech Marshal Akhromeyev devoted much attention to the current international situation and the implications stemming from it for our countries and armies. He said, among other things, that "the international situation remains complex and that there has been no decline in the aggressiveness of the NATO states, which do not want to give up the idea that it is supposedly possible to eliminate the socialist achievements of our states and peoples. They are also seeking to hinder the process of diminishing international tension. However, many peoples are resolutely campaigning against the threat of war, and people are becoming increasingly convinced that military struggles and arms are simply impermissible. A new form of political thinking is gaining strength. It is making it possible to create a responsible and long-term policy that suits the interests of all states. This is precisely the way in which the Soviet Union approaches international affairs. A policy of this kind is also being pursued by all the countries belonging

to the socialist community. We highly value the Jaruzelski Plan, which has been put forward by the PPR. Its implementation would make it possible to significantly reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe and increase security and confidence."

The speaker said unambiguously that the NATO member states had not so far come up with a constructive response. Instead, however, they are demanding that the Soviet Union and the other socialist states make unilateral concessions that run counter to our interests and our security. But the states belonging to the North Atlantic bloc are making no attempt to conceal their intention of further expanding their aggressive armed forces, and they are doing all this under the hackneyed banner of the "threat from the East." For the troops of the Warsaw Pact member states, there are logical lessons to be drawn from their opposition to detente and disarmament.

"The troops of the socialist states' armies cannot forget that the states belonging to the NATO bloc have not renounced their intentions of obtaining military superiority. In the West one still hears calls for a revision of the outcome of World War II; including the borders that were established as a result of it. In view of this situation, the troops belonging to the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states consider it their highest duty to vigilantly protect the achievements of their peoples. The Soviet Union and the PPR, along with all the socialist states, have resisted and will continue to resolutely resist these claims. The borders established at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences and confirmed by later agreements are inviolable. A return to the past, which is what the West German revisionists are calling for, is impossible. No one will succeed in turning back the course of history."

The marshal also referred to the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Armed Forces. "The history of the USSR Armed Forces confirms that they have faithfully served the cause of Lenin, the cause of the Communist Party, and their nation, and that they were always faithful to the principles of communist internationalism. I can tell our class brothers and comrades-in-arms that Soviet soldiers are vigilantly defending the peaceful interests of their nation. The essentially revolutionary "restructuring" process is gaining momentum. Our armed forces are also actively involved in it. We are improving combat training and military morale. The combat readiness among military units and the crews manning our ships is increasing, and military discipline and order is being strengthened in all army and navy units. This is in keeping with the fact that Soviet people are thinking about a peaceful future and are actively involved in creating such a future in everyday life."

The chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces stressed the importance of the Warsaw Pact organization as a reliable and tried and tested shield of world peace that will be an insurmountable obstacle for countries that have aggressive intentions. [passage omitted praising Polish soldiers and recalling common struggle against German fascism]

Examines Relations With U.S.

LD1781726 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Apr 88

[Interview with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, USSR deputy defense minister by Grzegorz Wozniak on 15 April in Poland; Akhromeyev speaking in Russian with superimposed Polish translation—recorded]

[Text] [Wozniak] I mentioned earlier the opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev, who compared the Afghan accord to the agreement on banning missiles. I had the opportunity of returning particularly to this last during a conversation with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, USSR deputy defense minister. He was visiting Poland at the invitation of the chief of the general staff.

Marshal, earlier, before I had the opportunity of meeting you personally, I saw you from afar, in Washington, during the December summit. I know that you were the first representative of the Soviet Army of high rank to pay a visit to the Pentagon. To an extent, you broke the ice, because after this meeting came the next ones. Minister Yazov met with Secretary Carlucci. Apart from this, contacts between representatives of the armies from both sides are developing. What significance does this have in the dialogue between Moscow and Washington generally?

[Akhromeyev] Today, we cannot yet speak of the expansion of military contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States. I think that it would be more correct to say that these contacts have only just been initiated. Up to now, talks have taken place between the USSR and U.S. defense ministers. During my visit to Washington, I met Carlucci and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Crowe. But for the moment, these are after all only talks and meetings of high-ranking figures. Up to now, there have not been other contacts. On our side, we proposed to the U.S. Defense Department the commencement of military contacts and on other levels. As yet, we have received no reply.

[Wozniak] The marshal mentioned talks on the subject of the reduction of strategic weapons. I would like to ask whether he is an optimist in this measure, is he an optimist in the sense that he believes that a suitable accord will be prepared already for the coming summit meeting?

[Akhromeyev] It would probably be better if you were to ask me this question on 25 April, after talks between Comrade Shevardnadze and Shultz in Moscow have ended. Well, you've asked me it now, and so, I will have to reply. We have done a lot already in preparation for the signing of an agreement on limiting and reducing strategic weapons and it must be admitted that both the

Soviet Union and the United States are striving in accord to prepare such a document. But many unsolved problems continue to exist. I think that we will still have to discuss many issues. Our points of view on certain problems differ. We hope, however, that in April, in the course of talks, we will reach agreement.

[Wozniak] Thank you very much for this conversation and I am pleased to have had the opportunity of meeting the Marshal.

Ladies and gentlemen, this conversation was recorded two days ago on video tape.

TRYBUNA LUDU Views Sources of Terrorism

AU191622 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Apr 88 p 5

[Jan Urbaniak article: "Sources of Terrorism"]

[Text] The tragedy of the passengers of the Kuwait plane hijacked by terrorists [terrorysci] has shaken world public opinion and has again drawn attention to the revolting and horrifying phenomenon of terrorism.

Of course, terrorism involves not only hijacking passenger planes. Terrorism also involves laying bombs, sending mail containing explosives, shooting from behind some screen, and taking hostages in towns, villages, or on the road.

A tremendous majority of terrorist acts is connected with the Muslim countries, mainly Arab countries, but this is not the only area. Extreme Sikhs in India continue to stop buses and to murder the Hindu occupants. Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Singhalese do the same in Sri Lanka. The Catholics and the Protestants shoot each other in Northern Ireland, ETA continues its terrorist activities in Spain, and extremely rightist organizations, including fascist and ultra-leftist ones, do the same in Italy and the FRG.

Every terrorist act, excluding the activities of common criminals, is connected with some armed or political-social conflict. Most terrorists have been born of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has remained unsolved for over 20 years, and its Palestinian nucleus; of the more or less associated civil war in Lebanon, which has lasted for 13 years now; and of the Iraqi-Iranian war, which was unleashed in 1980 and which is assuming an increasingly brutal character.

For the conflicts in the Middle East, terrorism is in a way an auxiliary front. Many blows that it is impossible to deal out at the main front continue to be dealt out by precisely terrorist methods, especially against the allies of one of the combatants.

At the same time, these conflicts stimulate all previously latent animosities and disputes in the Middle East and in other Muslim areas. Islamic fundamentalists are most militant. They proclaim that the difficulties of the Muslim peoples are a result of the departure from the principles of the Koran and its laws. The situation can be saved if the fundamentalists take over power or at least replace the Europeanized laws by the Koran laws.

Although they profess that single goal, the fundamentalists often clash with each other, because they are divided not only by state borders, but also by Islamic rites, primarily those professed by the Sunnis (90 percent of the Muslims) and by the more belligerent Shi'ites (10 percent). Especially fanatic groups resort even to terrorist activities. Among the Sunnites, this is the practice of the Muslim Brothers and others, and among the Shi'ites this is done by members of the Jihad (Holy War) and Hizbollah (God's Party).

The terrorists who have hijacked the Kuwait plane have asked for the release of 17 Shi'ite prisoners held by Kuwait, which, as we know, is a very rich country. One that provides very good living for all natives, excluding the "guest workers." However, the government is run by the Sunnis, who are in majority, and the Shi'ites, who account for almost one-third of the population feel that they are the underdogs. After the victory of the Khomeini revolution in Iran, which is mostly Shiite, and after the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war, the Kuwait Shiites began to rear their heads.

One form of this has been terrorist acts. In 1983 trucks loaded with dynamite and driven by suicidal drivers smashed into the U.S. and French Embassies. In 1985 such a truck tried to ram the car of the head of the state. In 1986 large petrochemical plants were set on fire. Last year bombs went off in many places throughout the country. Some of those who were caught received death sentences, but the emir stayed the execution.

The terrorists are most often called extremists, but this name does not fully reflect the crux of the matter. In most cases the tools of terrorism are used by those people hailing mostly from petty bourgeois segments and the gutter proletariat who are unable to win a more extensive support of society for solving the problems and situations that rankle them. Short of patience or driven to desperation, they band in small groups to struggle against the "injustice of the world."

They continue to do this, although there is enough evidence that terrorism solves nothing. At one time some Palestinian groups claimed that terror against the Jews everywhere and against citizens of the states supporting Israeli expansionism is the only way to force Tel Aviv to return the occupied lands. Today all Palestinians can see from the uprising in the Gaza Strip and in the West Bank that the most correct manner of struggle is mass struggle, if only with the help of stones.

Since Shi'ite terrorists who may hail from Lebanon are involved in the case of the Kuwait plane, we should note that in Lebanon only a very small segment of the Shi'ites

go for terrorism. Most of them are rallied around the Amal organization and use rather sensible means in fighting for equality with the Christians and the Sunnies in Lebanon.

The mechanism of terrorist activities is almost always the same. The terrorists kill or mishandle innocent people, who may be connected with the guilty only by ethnic, religious, or, at the most, political-ideological considerations. They do not kill or mishandle the people whom they accuse of creating given conflicts. The death and sufferings of hostages are expected to move public opinion in the countries in which these victims live, and are supposed to force the direct perpetrators of such conflicts to make concessions.

Opportunities to move public opinion are very considerable. The news about the hostages and the demands of hijackers is flashed instantly by the mass media. This and the multitude of conflicts and tensions are precisely the reason why terrorism is spreading. Terrorists prefer to hijack planes because they carry many passengers, often prominent ones, can fly large distances, and can serve as stages in the air for human dramas.

But why has the international community not been able to counter terrorism and at least to reduce this plague, which is becoming a global problem of mankind? It seems that differences in defining terrorism are the main reason for this. All governments and public opinion communities in the world, except for the Shi'ite extremists, have condemned the hijacking of the Kuwait plane or at least did not want to have anything to do with it. However, for example, after the massacre of the U.S. Marines in Beirut in 1983 by the suicidal trucks and after the kidnapping of four Soviet diplomats in Beirut in 1985 (one of them was killed), the views differed strongly.

We should also note that the governments combatting the national liberation movements, especially the United States, Israel, and South Africa, regard many forms of struggle waged by these movements as terrorism. At the same time, they often commit deeds that world progressive public opinion regards as state terrorism.

However, it seems that chances are growing that many differences may be eliminated from the evaluations of what is and what is not terrorism and that some international measures will be taken against it. These chances are being increased by the improving world situation and by the fact that a number of regional conflicts are moving toward solution.

Arab Students Protest Against Israeli Policy

AU191331 Paris AFP in English
1312 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 19 (AFP)—About 100 Arab students took to the streets here Tuesday in a protest against what they called "fascist methods" by Israel in the occupied territories.

To fight Palestinian unrest on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip "prisoners are being submitted to torture practices already used by the Gestapo," Nazi Germany's secret police, leaflets handed out by the students to passers-by and car drivers said.

The protest, monitored by dozens of police officers in plain clothes, was also watched by foreign Jews attending the 45th anniversary of the Jewish uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.

Students carrying Palestinian flags laid a wreath at the Victory Monument commemorating Poles who revolted against Nazi troops in 1944. The wreath carried the words: "From the victims of the Palestinian uprising to the heroes of the Warsaw uprising."

Demonstrators dispersed without incident.

Officials Present Condolences at PLO Office

AU191740 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1546 GMT 19 Apr 88

["Presentation of Condolences"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/4/1988—Tuesday, April 19, condolences were presented at the headquarters of the PLO representation to Bucharest on the death of Khalil al-Wazir, deputy commander of the Palestinian Revolutionary Armed Forces.

On behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu, sincere condolences were presented on the heavy loss, just as feelings of deep compassion to the bereaved family. Solidarity was also expressed with the Palestinian people's just fight.

The condolences were presented by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Constantin Radu, deputy prime minister, Ghita Florea, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP, Traian Pop, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Communique on Ceausescu Visit to Australia

AU191033 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Apr 88 pp 1, 5

["Communique on the Official Visit Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the SR of Romania, Paid to Australia, Together With Comrade Elena Ceausescu" from 11-17 April]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid an official visit to Australia from 11-17 April 1988 at the invitation of the Governor General Ninian Martin Stephen.

The high-ranking Romanian guests visited economic units and sociocultural establishments in Canberra and in the states of Queensland and Western Australia. Everywhere they enjoyed a cordial welcome as an expression of the feelings of esteem and mutual respect the peoples of the two countries harbor for each other.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu met with the governor general of Australia, Ninian Martin Stephen, and conducted talks with the Australian Prime Minister, R.J.L. Hawke in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. During the talks, the two sides briefed each other on current concerns with the socioeconomic development of the two countries and examined ways and means to continue to develop relations between Romania and Australia. They also had a broad exchange of views on major international issues.

Complete satisfaction was expressed with the development of relations of cooperation between Romania and Australia on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and renunciation of the use or threat of force.

The two sides stressed the particular significance of the visit, talks, meetings, and talks between the leaders of the two states and expressed the hope that this visit will mark the beginning of a new and important stage in Romanian-Australian relations. Although the two countries are located at a great geographical distance from each other and hold certain different viewpoints, there is no impediment to developing relations between the two countries in the future.

The sides appreciated the progress achieved in developing Romanian-Australian economic and trade relations and expressed the conviction that, on the basis of the experience gained so far and considering the economic potential of the two countries, there are broad opportunities to expand trade and mutually advantageous economic cooperation between Romania and Australia by taking account of the interests of each country.

In this sense, they emphasized the conclusion of long-term agreements that are designed to ensure stability and prospects for economic relations between the two countries.

The two sides expressed their common desire to intensify and diversify exchanges and contacts between the two countries in the areas of science, technology, education, and culture.

Within the framework of the exchange of views on current international issues, the president of the SR of Romania and the leader of Australia expressed their deep concern over the continuation of the arms race, the persistence of regional conflicts, and the deterioration of the world economic situation, which especially affects the developing countries. In addition, they expressed concern over the continuation of the policy of the use and threat of force and of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. In this context, the leaders of the two states advocated a halt to the arms race and a determined move to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, the peaceful solution of international conflicts, and guaranteeing the basic right of each people to settle its own problems under conditions of complete freedom and independence.

Romania and Australia hailed the signing of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The two countries believe that determined action is necessary to achieve an agreement on a 50-percent cut in strategic weapons, to completely eliminate nuclear weapons, and to halt nuclear testing. The

two sides believe that it is necessary to adopt a comprehensive and verifiable treaty on the ban and elimination of chemical weapons. Romania and Australia believe that it is also necessary to radically reduce conventional weapons, troops, and military expenditures in Europe to ensure a balance at the lowest level.

Romania and Australia believe that countries on all continents should concern themselves more intensively with creating zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

The two sides stressed the need for a global, just, and durable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East. This should be based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. It should also resolve the Palestinian people's problems and ensure the integrity, sovereignty, and security of all states in that area in keeping with pertinent UN resolutions. To achieve this goal, the two countries advocate the organization of an international peace conference on the Middle East problem.

Romania and Australia advocate an immediate halt to the war between Iran and Iraq. They also advocate withdrawing troops by both sides within the internationally recognized border limits and a move to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the problems between the two states.

Romania and Australia condemn the racist and apartheid policy promoted by the South African authorities and demand that all acts of this policy should be stopped immediately.

The two countries support the negotiations on the problem of Cambodia and favor broad national reconciliation between all Cambodian forces, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and the cessation of any outside interference. This is to create favorable conditions for the Cambodian people to decide their future by themselves.

Romania and Australia value the progress achieved in the direction of solving the situation in Afghanistan by political means. They also value the beginning of the withdrawal of foreign troops to ensure the independence, sovereignty, and nonalignment of Afghanistan.

Romania and Australia believe that the elimination of underdevelopment and a narrowing of the gap between rich and poor countries is an essential condition to preserve peace and international security. The two states assess that the achievement of these goals requires intensified action within the United Nations and other international forums. They are inspired by the desire to act in this way.

Romania and Australia believe that it is necessary to enhance the role of the United Nations in the international arena and to increase its contribution to safeguarding peace and security and to developing cooperation among its member states.

The talks revealed the common desire to intensify cooperation between Romania and Australia in the international arena, within the United Nations, and in its specialized institutions. This is to increase their contribution to the settlement of current major problems in order to promote peace, security, and international cooperation.

The two sides expressed complete satisfaction with the talks conducted during the visit. They constitute a valuable contribution to deepening relations between the two countries in the interest of the Romanian and Australian people, and of the cause of peace, progress, and international cooperation.

The president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu expressed warm thanks to the governor general of Australia, to Mrs Stephen, and the Australian people for the friendly welcome they enjoyed during the official visit to Australia.

The president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, extended an invitation to the governor general of Australia, Ninian Martin Stephen, and to the prime minister, Robert Hawke, to pay an official visit to the SR of Romania, together with their wives. The invitations were accepted with pleasure. The dates of the visits will be agreed on later through diplomatic channels.

Canberra, 17 April 1988.

Mikulic Attends Hannover Trade Fair in FRG

Departs for FRG

LD191340 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Branko Mikulic, FEC president, left this morning for the FRG. At the Hannover International Fair he will open the exhibition "Yugoslavia—Country Partner." Nearly 120 Yugoslav producers of industrial and other goods will exhibit at this fair, one of the biggest in the world.

Branko Mikulic is expected on this occasion to meet Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other West-German leaders and have talks on relations between the two countries, especially in the economic sphere.

Arrives in Hannover

LD191915 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Hannover, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic has arrived in Hannover, where he is due to open the largest international industrial fair in the world. This year, Yugoslavia is being honored as the Hannover Fair's partner country. On his arrival in Hannover, Mikulic had a meeting with Ernst Albrecht, head of the State of Lower Saxony. On this visit, Mikulic is accompanied by Desimir Jevtic, president of the Executive Council of the SR of Serbia. Serbia and Lower Saxony enjoy long-term cooperation which [words indistinct] economic areas.

Mikulic and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl will speak at the fair's opening ceremony this evening.

Mikulic, Kohl Open Fair

LD192040 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Hannover, Apr 19 (TANJUG)—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic tonight opened the International Fair in Hannover, in which Yugoslavia participates this year as a country-partner.

Over 6,000 exhibitors from some 60 countries participate in the fair expected to be visited by over half a million people from hundred-odd countries. Yugoslavia is represented by about 1-8 economic organizations.

Chancellor Kohl stressed that Yugoslavia rightly enjoys the reputation of (?spearheading) cooperation between East and West firms. He recalled that 20 years ago, the first firms with joint investments in the two countries' economic organizations were set up.

"This is why I wish that it will be from this fair that additional incentives shall originate for the existing diversified economic relations between our two countries to be further developed"—said Kohl stressing that he was in the same way supporting the future deepening of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Community.

Chancellor Kohl pointed out that Bonn's interest in cooperation with Yugoslavia also was stemming from Yugoslavia's significant role in its region of Europe. "Changes in the static [as received] of Yugoslavia's position in that region would bear far-reaching consequences on security and stability in Europe as a whole," said he in expressing the desire and support for Yugoslavia to "carry on along its road of success."

Premier Mikulic assessed in his speech that the well-developed economic relations between Yugoslavia and the FRG may serve as an example and model of associating the European neighbours of the different international positions and socio-economic systems.

Mikulic stressed Yugoslavia's determination to find the solution to its economic crisis in its further opening on the world and in accepting the impact of world market.

In reiterating that Yugoslavia was in the stage of essentially reforming its economic system towards the strengthened commodity production and market laws, the Yugoslav premier hoped that West German companies would use the favourable possibilities of cooperation to be created by the adoption of new legislation on the investment of foreign capital.

The universal, ramified and successful cooperation between Yugoslavia and the FRG was assessed by Mikulic as the model of linking two countries having the different social systems and foreign-political positions, and as the signpost for the construction of new European relations "for which all of us strive".

Further Report on Opening

AU191917 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] This afternoon, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, left for the FRG, where he opened an exhibition on Yugoslavia as a partner country at an International Fair in Hannover. At this fair, which is one of the biggest in the world, nearly 120 Yugoslav producers of industrial and other goods will exhibit their products. Slobodan Jankovic reports:

There are more than 5,600 firms from all over the world exhibiting their products on about 450,000 square meters in Ha nover this year. Our country used the opportunity and its special role at the fair to exhibit, over a large area, the various achievements of our economy, and to offer technological cooperation to all those interested in joint ventures.

In his speech at the festive opening, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, said, among other things, that Yugoslavia will do its best to fully integrate its economy into international economic relations and [words indistinct] in the world market. Yugoslavia is particularly interested in joining the European countries' scientific-research projects the FEC president stressed, and added that at present Yugoslav and German experts are working together on 50 scientific-research projects.

Branko Mikulic devoted a part of his speech to Yugoslav-FRG economic cooperation, stressing that in recent years total trade between the two countries has been around DM11 billion a year. Let us also say that at the end of the festive opening ceremony, around 2000, official talks between Branko Mikulic and Helmut Kohl will open.

Tomorrow the FEC president will visit the Yugoslav stand and then hold talks with our businessmen. An exceptionally diverse program of meetings and talks between FRG and Yugoslav businessmen is planned to take place during the Hannover fair. Our role as the partner country at the fair is supplemented by rich cultural events, exhibitions, theater performances, concerts, and the Yugoslav film week.

Mikulic Assesses Talks With Kohl

LD192208 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2133 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Hannover, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and FEC President Branko Mikulic this evening assessed the development of bilateral relations in positive terms.

Following his tete-a-tete meeting with Kohl, Mikulic, in a conversation with Yugoslav reporters, expressed satisfaction at the course of this evening's talks. According to him, he briefed Kohl on the Yugoslav plan for rescheduling the country's foreign debt and on the economic measures due to go into effect on 15 May in Yugoslavia. In this context, he outlined what Yugoslavia is expecting from the FRG regarding its support for structural changes in Yugoslavia and its foreign financial relations.

According to Mikulic, Kohl wanted to know in greater detail about the Yugoslav plan for debt rescheduling and expressed Bonn's readiness, in cooperation with other creditor governments, to make efforts in that direction and in providing "fresh money" for Yugoslavia. West German sources have added that Chancellor Kohl has reiterated that Bonn attaches great importance to Yugoslavia's nonaligned and independent position both in the Balkans and in Europe.

BORBA Comments on Kuwaiti Plane 'Drama'

AU191716 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Apr 88 p 13

[Mirko Klarin article "Terror in Installments"]

[Excerpts] Of all terrorist methods, hijacking attracts the most attention. However dramatic and tragic, terrorist bombings, assassinations, or armed attacks are nevertheless a 1-day news story. The action is being carried out, the assassination is committed, the bomb explodes...and there is no new dramatic incitement for publicity. [passage omitted]

Hijackings, however, are different, as we have been reassured during the last 10 or so days following the odyssey of the Kuwaiti Boeing with a curse on it. With hijackers and several dozens of hostages, the plane has been cruising from one country to another and from one continent to another for days; the drama has been developing before the eyes of the entire world; the outcome is uncertain—the end may come any moment, but nobody knows when—human lives are in danger.... This is a kind of terror in installments, like a cruelly realistic television serial which is carried for 24 hours every day and whose "scenario" is written from one installment to another. With millions watching this, the 40 or so hostages from the jinxed plane have become millions of hostages on millions of television screens.

However, unlike television serials, the terrorist drama in installments is real. Weapons are real, violence is real, death in front of cameras is real.... And although its dramaturgy has been already seen and known—demands, threats, negotiations, counterdemands, ultimatums—the uncertainty is all there: neither the length nor the outcome of the terrorist drama in installments can be foreseen.

The drama's scenario is never completed in advance: While the drama is going on, all its participants—terrorists, hostages, and authorities—are facing a series of dramatic challenges and dilemmas on which the final denouement depends.

Terrorists: To kill or not to kill, to haggle or to remain at the maximum demand, to give up or to endure to the end, to surrender or to be killed...?

Authorities: To negotiate or not to negotiate, to accept or to reject, to wait or attack, to sacrifice the reputation of the state or hostages' lives...?

Hostages: How is one to survive, to induce hijackers and authorities to have mercy, should one collaborate with hijackers or oppose them...?

What was the development of the dramatic and complex game of this triangle in the case of hijacked Kuwaiti Boeing?

Hijackers [subhead]

Although there have been some such cases, plane hijackings are not a job for "amateur terrorists." They require exceptional precision of planning, efficiency of performance, good equipment and training, and great resoluteness and persistence.

The record length of the Kuwaiti Boeing drama itself, as well as the fact that after as many as 10 days almost nothing is known about the hijackers, show that those involved in this case are not "amateurs." On the contrary, all that has happened in the jinxed plane and around it during these 10 days leads one to the conclusion that its hijackers have well mastered the theory and practice of air piracy and terrorism. [passage omitted]

It can be concluded from the hijackers' demand—freeing 17 Shi'ite terrorists sentenced in Kuwait for a series of grave attacks at the end of 1983—that they belong to one of the factions of radical Shi'ite organizations and groups. Several of those—from "God's Party" (Hizbollah) to "Islamic Holy War" (Jihad)—spoke up, but the confusion has remained.

During the last 4 years, Shi'ite terrorists carried out at least 10 actions ranging from plane hijackings to suicide bombing in order to free these 17 people, 3 of whom were sentenced to death (the sentence has not yet been carried out), 7 got life sentences, and others long sentences. Kuwaiti authorities, however, successfully resisted all pressures, blackmail, and temptations to "get rid of the misery," firmly resolute that the 17 should remain in prison.

The hijackers obviously counted on such an unyielding attitude of the Kuwaitis and were this time prepared for a long and cruel "game."

First, in order to reduce the risk of interferences and interventions "from aside" they released all the non-Arab passengers-hostages. The hijacking has thereby become "an Arab affair" and Washington and London (especially the latter, because there were 22 British subjects were on board when the hijacking started) could only express support and solidarity with Kuwait and not send ultimatums demanding military intervention at any cost. [passage omitted]

Authorities [subhead]

If one says that terrorists have played their part in this drama "according to textbooks," authorities must also grant that they obeyed some of the basic rules, which experts for antiterrorists tactics arrived at on the basis of experience and analyses of hundreds of similar cases.

The first rule reads: One should play for time. Time is usually on the side of authorities. Hijackers are brought into a more and more difficult position by stalling for time: They are overcome by tiredness, their caution and persistence weaken....

In such situations, time is "bought" through negotiations. The blackmailed Kuwaiti authorities have clearly made it known that "there will be no exchange of prisoners," but at the same time pointed out their readiness to "meet any other demands by hijackers providing that that does not include pressures, threats, and blackmail." [passage omitted]

The second rule in such situations is to get to know one's enemy. Although hijackers managed to conceal their number and identity, some things were already clear after the first hours of the hijacking and the first contacts. First, what is involved are "professionals," theoretically and practically versed terrorists. Second, they "are serious" and have no scruples. They are moved by religious fanaticism and a paranoid view of the world, which removes their barriers from mass murders so that they will be able to commit the extremist action of destruction or self-destruction.

It was probably this awareness of the enemy's nature that dissuaded the authorities from making risky attempts to free hostages by an armed action. For, even when it is most carefully planned and carried out, such an action represents a huge risk for hostages among whom—not unimportantly—are three members of the Kuwaiti royal family. [passage omitted]

Hostages [subhead]

During the past 15 years, that is, since plane hijackings became one of the most perfidious and most favored terrorist tactics, many countries' authorities had to reconcile themselves to the fact that there is no absolutely safe method to free hostages and punish terrorists. [passage omitted]

The "differentiation" of hostages carried by hijackers in the hijacked Kuwaiti Boeing was in conformity with the aim they had set to their action and with the assessment that the action could last longer. They have gradually freed hostages group by group: first women, then non-Arab passengers, then ill and "poor" people—they removed the risk of interference from outside and reduced the number of hostages to a "reasonable measure," so that they could be controlled more easily. As for the two men who were killed, one could say that the hijacking and death from a terrorist bullet are part of "professional risks"—as far as it is known, they were both members of the Kuwaiti security service, and they are the ones who are always hit first in such situations.

Finally, there are only Kuwaitis left in the plane, citizens of the country that the hijackers declared war on, because it holds 17 like-minded people prisoners. They

probably find it easier to understand why they found themselves in such a situation (easier than English and German women who were in the same plane at the beginning could) but it is cold comfort to them. They also may have more understanding for their government's refusal to meet hijackers' demands, but it is hardly possible that they are ready to die for that. [passage omitted]